

JPRS 75782

29 May 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 86



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

29 May 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 86

CONTENTS

PARTY AND STATE

Need To Eliminate Factors of Disorder, Disunity Stressed (Yu. Xiang; WEN HUI BAO, 3 Mar 80)	1
Rehabilitation of Liu Said in Best Marxist Tradition (Wei Zhen; NANFANG RIBAO, 8 Mar 80)	10
Importance of Law, Morality to Socialist Society (Yu Xianyu, Wang Rucheng; JIANGNAN LUNTAN, 15 Nov 79)	14
Problem of Defining Correct 'Orientation' Outlined (Nan Lan; RENMIN RIBAO, 28 Apr 80)	25
Theories Regarding 'Oriental' Despotism, Autocracy Refuted (Liao Xuesheng; SHIJIE LISHI, 2 Feb 80)	27
Importance of Knowing, Using Real Talent Stressed (Liu Xianting; GUANGMING RIBAO, 3 Apr 80)	34
Lin Bujia's Beijing 1979 Government Work Report (Lin Bujia's; BEIJING RIBAO, 16 Dec 79)	37

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Country's Intercontinental Missile Launching Discussed (Shih Chun-yu; TA KUNG PAO, 9 May 80)	76
Shanghai Meeting Calls for Punishment of Law Violators (JIEFANG RIBAO, 7 Mar 80)	78
Commander Inspects Border Outposts (XINHUA Domestic Service, 11 May 80)	82

Strengthening of Political Work in PLA Discussed (Chao Tung; WEN WEI PO, 9 May 80)	84
Contest Results in Improved Militia Training (TIANJIN RIBAO, 30 Mar 80)	86
Military Biographic Information, Unit Code Designators ...	88
Briefs	
PLA Air Force CYL Branches	90
Jiangxi Police Military Contest	90
Wuhan PLA Song Rally	90
Jiangxi Model Doctor	91
Fujian Public Security Conference	91
Fuzhou Public Security Meeting	91
Guangdong Public Security Delegates	91
SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE	
Women's Letters Voicing Opinions Published (XINHUA, 14 May 80)	92
Background of Country's Population Research Reviewed (RENMIN RIBAO, 11 Mar 80)	93
More Peasant Themes Needed in Literature (XINHUA, 12 May 80)	96
Briefs	
Actress Seeks Taiwan Cooperation	97
General Knowledge Book	97
New Nature Reserves	97
Anhui Stationery Exhibit	98
Anhui Elephant Fossil	98

PARTY AND STATE

NEED TO ELIMINATE FACTORS OF DISORDER, DISUNITY STRESSED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 3 Mar 80 p 3

[Article by Yun Xiang (4382 0061): "Stability, Unity, and Liveliness--Study Comrade Deng Xiaoping's Important Report 'The Current Situation and Tasks'"]

[Text] Following the downfall of the "gang of four," we have brought about a political order of stability and unity, thanks to the hard work performed by the entire party and the people throughout the country. We have reaped this political fruit at a great price. "In times of stability, we should remind ourselves of danger; when we enjoy a good life, we should remind ourselves of subjugation; when there is order across the land, we should remind ourselves of disorder." The memory of the prolonged turmoil has taught the people throughout the country a painful lesson and has induced them to treasure this fruit highly.

Stability and unity are prerequisites for carrying out modernization, and a fundamental guarantee for success in steadily developing the economy. In the face of disunity and instability, no one can enjoy peace of mind and concentrate his energies on carrying out construction; this being the case, all plans for developing the productive forces, for improving the people's living standards, and for the four modernizations will have to be shelved. Under such circumstances, democracy cannot prevail, nor will there be any liveliness. During our current campaign to carry forward socialist democracy, we must especially concentrate our attention on handling well the relationship between stability and unity on the one hand and liveliness on the other.

Political Systems in Perspective

Every ruling class considers it necessary to establish a government system that can best serve its needs as well as an ideal political system. In Chinese history, every feudal ruler dreamed of building a united kingdom in which the officials were loyal and people were obedient to him as the supreme ruler and classes and social status were well defined, plus an economic order which could serve the landlord class' need to cruelly exploit the peasants. The political ideal of the bourgeoisie is to realize capitalist democratic freedom and to build a paradise in which the people can do business on an

equal footing. The result is an environment of free competition--a favorable condition for developing capitalism most cherished by capitalists.

In our country, where the proletariat and the working people are masters, what kind of political system should we cherish?

In the wake of the "October Revolution," Lenin pointed out: "The Paris Commune was a great model of the pioneering spirit, flexibility, initiative, and indomitable fortitude displayed by the people from the low levels of society and their voluntary efforts to implement centralism, which tolerates no rigid formulas." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 3, p 399) Although the Paris Commune was shortlived and was marked all along by turmoil, it has handed down a historical experience of universal significance in its own right. Lenin pointed out that a socialist system patterned after the Paris Commune should be established in the Soviet Union.

When the socialist transformation of the means of production was accomplished in the main in 1957, class relations in our country underwent radical changes. At that time, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Our aim is to create a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 5, pp 456-457) In the days that followed, he repeatedly stressed the need for stability and unity. Now what we need is a political system having stability, unity, and liveliness. Objective conditions are now ripe for creating a political system having stability, unity, and liveliness in our country.

The elimination of the exploiting classes and the termination of the massive turbulent class struggle, a major cause of turmoils which once led to the division of our country, have paved the way for us to enjoy a prolonged period of stability and unity and to carry on socialist construction. The socialist production serving the interests of the entire society" ("Collection of Works of Marx and Engels," vol 22, p 271) require a centralized and unified political leadership as well as enthusiasm and pioneering spirit displayed by the broad masses. Fundamentally, the political system is subordinate to the economic system and class relations. A political system of stability, unity, and liveliness is a concentrated expression of the socialist economy of public ownership resulting from the implementation of a government system in which the people have the final say. This political system is entirely different from the sluggish and rigid political life under feudal and autocratic rule and is at variance with the capitalist world, known for its free economic competition. Such a political system will provide "a very favorable condition for us to promote our socialist revolution and socialist construction, to make it easier to overcome difficulties, to build a modern industry and modern agriculture more rapidly, and to make our party and state more secure and better able to weather storm and stress." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 5, p 457) The endeavor to create such a political system comes from the objective demands to develop a socialist society and the common aspirations of the people throughout the country.

Our general objective is to build China into a powerful socialist country known for its well-developed economy and high level of culture, matched by a new political system. Efforts should be made to consolidate and fully develop the order of stability, unity, and liveliness in order to meet the basic political requirements of a modern socialist power like ours. This political aim can be gradually realized through our efforts to bring about modernization and democracy and to improve the legal system.

Stability, Unity, and Liveliness Are Identical Factors

Stability, unity, and liveliness are factors indispensable to our country and inseparable from each other. Only by achieving stability and unity can we truly enjoy a lively political life. Liveliness is a source of energy that can constantly motivate the people to promote and develop stability and unity. We must persist in giving equal emphasis to the development of the three factors of stability, unity, and liveliness as a condition for promoting socialist democracy. In this connection, we must prevent the following two tendencies:

1. The tendency to emphasize stability and unity but disregard liveliness.

In a country like ours, feudal rule covered a considerable period of history, and the democratic tradition is not as deeply rooted as the vicious feudal dictatorial influence. Although our party is known for its democratic tradition, the old vicious influence always prevailed over the democratic life in our party. Few in our party understand what democratic centralism means. Many people are not accustomed to the democratic way of life and hate what they called the "troublesome" democratic system. They often view the democratic way of life in our socialist society from the standpoint of the patriarchs in the ancient feudal society, consciously and unconsciously regarding the act of exercising free democratic rights, people's supervision and criticism of the leading organs and their cadres, and the disputes over some specific problems as being unlawful and detrimental to stability and unity. In the name of preserving stability and unity, they often move to suppress this form of democratic life. As a matter of fact, this phenomenon is a manifestation of our lively political life.

In our dictionary, the antonyms for stability and unity are division and turmoil. To us, stability and unity form the basic conditions that are essential to our common objective of realizing the four modernizations. Realization of stability and unity does not mean resolving all forms of contradictions. In order to consolidate and develop stability and unity, we must concentrate on overcoming all factors of instability and make constant efforts to resolve the contradictions among the people in a healthy, democratic way. Only in this way can we promote unity. For this reason, a lively political life is indispensable to the preservation of stability and unity. In this connection, Comrade Chen Yi said: "In a society like ours, everyone should display initiative, should smile and feel happy, and should have personal ease of mind. Everyone should say all he knows and say it without

reserve. Only in this way can he entirely contribute his talent and wisdom to his country." ("Speech at the National Forum on Modern Drama, Opera, and Children's Drama") Within the framework of the common goal, ideological contention and controversy are good omens. We must encourage the people to boldly express their views on the major issues of our country and freely and effectively launch discussions and hold consultations as permitted within the framework of the normal political life of the party and state, and fully protect their democratic rights so that we can achieve still greater success in modernization and other undertakings. If a proposal is adopted without a single dissenting vote, it means covering up contradictions and therefore bodes ill for our country. If every bird is quiet, the danger is even deeper. Forcing the people to shut their mouths may bring a feeling of unity and peace, but beneath the surface of calmness simmers a wave of disagreement. Under such conditions, the so-called system of stability and unity would be only a superficial, fleeting phenomenon.

2. The tendency to promote a lively political life in gross disregard of stability and unity.

Alleging that "disorder means liveliness", Lin Biao and the "gang of four" vigorously promoted the fallacy that the greater the disorder, the better. This was really a sinister distortion of the meaning of liveliness. Their aim was to disrupt life throughout the country. With their connivance, numerous factional organizations emerged, and vandalism was legalized. The result was the serious disruption of the systems of various organizations, and violation of discipline, followed by prolonged turmoil. Even today, their remnants and pernicious influence continue to threaten us.

There is another trend that deserves our attention. During the campaign to carry forward socialist democracy, some people regard the practice of democracy as a form of freedom of speech and freedom of action, and even as a right to create civil disobedience and disorder in gross disregard of stability and unity. This points up the fact that there are still some people who do not know what socialist democracy and liveliness really mean. Some so-called individual democrats even have openly provoked others to oppose the leadership of the Communist Party and socialist democracy, and to create disturbances in the name of democracy.

It must be pointed out that the form of socialist democracy we are practicing is at variance with bourgeois democracy. First, we have to make it clear that ours is a people's democracy. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the people are the masters as well as the administrators of their own country. In other words, our form of democracy reflects the aspirations of the broad masses and is designed to protect their interests. All other forms of democracy which are unresponsive to the people's aspirations and interests, which do not conform to the four basic principles, which hamper the four modernizations, and which disrupt stability and unity do not fall under the category of socialist democracy and therefore cannot be adopted by our country. The concept of democratic politics itself clearly has its class nature--a

simple concept which should be remembered by those interested in practicing democracy. Lenin once incisively pointed out: "Reciting such general phrases as freedom, equality, and democracy without specifications means only a blind repetition of those concepts that reflect the relations of commercial production. Using these general phrases to interpret the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat raises the danger of shifting our stand over to the theory and principles of the bourgeoisie." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 4, p 93) Lenin's teaching deserves our repeated attention. Second, within the ranks of the people, we are now practicing democratic centralism. In pursuit of the democratic way of life, we should adhere to the principles and procedures of democratic centralism. By liveliness, here, we mean the lively practicing of democratic centralism. Liveliness also means that the people should bring into full play their enthusiasm for socialism on the basis of democratic centralism. Furthermore, liveliness is an embodiment of democracy and centralism, freedom and discipline, and personal ease of mind and the unity of will. Democracy without being backed up by centralism, freedom without being accompanied by discipline, and personal ease of mind deprived of the unity of will can in no way produce that form of lively political life we cherish. Liveliness has nothing in common with the system known for its laxity of organization and discipline and for its anarchy.

How to treat freedom has also become a problem. Our constitution entitles our citizens to various forms of freedom. We should gradually create conditions in which our citizens can fully enjoy these democratic rights, and we should permit no one to violate them. But common sense tells us that no one in the democratic countries, including what is called the most democratic capitalist country, can enjoy absolute freedom. Ours is a form of freedom that is accompanied by leadership and is in unity with discipline. For this reason, we must formulate some bylaws for the people to observe so that they will know how to prevent freedom from going to extremes. Like democracy, freedom also has its class nature. For example, the bourgeoisie will never yield its freedom to the proletariat, and vice versa. Under a socialist democratic system, only counterrevolutionaries are deprived of the freedoms of speech, the press, assembly, and association; no one is entitled to the freedom of opposing the four basic principles. In practice, of course, we must strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions. But the assumption that depriving counterrevolutionaries of their freedom would have an adverse impact on the people's freedom is indeed a typical muddleheaded idea. On any occasion, a Communist Party member cannot go his own righteous way, and whatever he does, he should uphold the party's principles and stand. He must also speak and behave within the limits of the party's laws and discipline. He cannot act, speak, or do as he wishes or in violation of the party's line, principles, policies, and decisions. Within the ranks of the party and the people, we must implement the principle of "three don'ts"--notably, don't pick on people, don't put political labels on them, and don't wield the big stick--so that they will be encouraged to air their views freely. But this principle does not mean preventing anyone from raising his demands, providing guidance, and launching criticism. The principle of "three don'ts" should in no way be interpreted as a policy of standing for liberalism.

Following over 20 years of practice, we can now come up with some conclusions on the "four big" campaign, the campaign for "speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates, and writing big-character posters." This campaign resulted from our search for a form of socialist democracy. Facts show that this "big four" campaign cannot achieve unity of democracy and centralism and unity of freedom and discipline in conformity with the principle of "freedom with leadership and democracy under centralized guidance." Nor can it produce liveliness under democratic centralism and effectively deal blows to the enemy. When applied within the ranks of the people, it tends to create tensions and troubles. Furthermore, the "four big" slogans constitute an idea that, with the exception of the slogan "writing big-character posters," is so ambiguous that anyone could take advantage of it to serve his own self-interest. As everyone knows, big-character posters were used for many years by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" as an important tool to suppress the revolutionary masses and overthrow the old cadres and create disorder across the land. The big-character posters were also used by those once popular "leftists" as a steppingstone to important positions. In the people's eyes, the so-called "big-character poster language" stands for exaggeration, fiction, irresponsibility, and an unhealthy style of writing. With the exception of such extraordinary events as the 5 April movement, the "four big" slogans cannot, generally speaking, be used to promote the development of socialist democracy and stability and unity, because it has been blamed as a root cause of disorder.

Consolidating and developing a political system having stability, unity, and liveliness constitute an important step in the promotion and practice of socialist democracy. As a form of government, our democratic system is a supreme power structure that enables the people to control their own country. Stable political order usually comes from the development of a perfect democratic system and the effective application of the people's power. At present, democratic centralism is the basic principle governing the political life of our country. The more fully democracy develops, the more lively our political life becomes. For this reason, during the campaign to carry forward socialist democracy, we must make constant efforts to develop a political system of stability, unity, and liveliness. While doing so, we must attach equal importance to the three factors--stability, unity, and liveliness--and should not lopsidedly emphasize the first two factors to the denial of the third. No one should be allowed to lopsidedly emphasize or distort the meaning of the third factor, thus reducing the importance of the first two. As a matter of principle, the three factors are in harmony and are not in contradiction with each other. The idea of the so-called contradiction between stability and unity on the one hand and liveliness on the other comes mainly from the people's incorrect understanding of the three factors, and particularly their distortion or misunderstanding of the third factor--liveliness. But it must be pointed out that some forms of "lively political life" that go against the principles of democratic centralism have long been unpopular with the people. It is therefore deemed entirely necessary to take appropriate measures to defend and preserve stability and unity. During the movement to carry forward socialist democracy, some forms of democracy harmful to stability and unity

may develop--a situation that sometimes cannot be avoided. Furthermore, it is also likely that conditions in some parts of our country are not yet ripe for the practice of any form of democracy. If this is the case, the factor of liveliness should give way to the factors of stability and unity, and research should be conducted with the aim of creating other democratic forms of lively political life capable of enhancing socialist democracy and stability and unity in given localities.

Need to Eliminate Factors of Disorder, and To Consolidate Stability and Unity

Stability, unity, and liveliness are all cherished by the people and therefore should be further developed. But for the time being, special attention must be paid to the preservation of stability and unity. We must realize that presently, our political system of stability and unity remains in an infant stage of growth and therefore its foundation is still shaky; the people are still suffering from the divisions and wounds caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and that these wounds take time to heal; many economic and special problems that have accumulated over the years still await solution. In short, various factors of disorder still exist and therefore deserve our special attention.

Among the factors that first come to our attention is the remnant influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Although we have basically destroyed the factional systems of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and eliminated the root cause of political disorder, the influence they built over a 10-year period remains deeply entrenched and cannot possibly be eradicated completely in a short time. We must carefully think over the following questions: Why are the principles and line laid down by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee still bitterly hated by some people even today? Why do some people obstinately resist the Party's Central Committee's policies? Why do some people refuse to promptly rehabilitate those people being unjustly, falsely, and wrongly charged or sentenced? Why are some people still so overbearing, and contemptuous of law and order? The people would not be convinced if we explained that these phenomena stem from reasons that are hard to understand or from the prevalence of some petrified ideas. This means that the remnant organizational and ideological influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" is still at work. Although these people are small in number, they can exert great influence. Wherever this influence persists, normal democratic life is unlikely to develop, the enthusiasm of the masses for socialism will be suppressed, and the people will face difficulties in carrying out the four modernizations. As long as this problem persists, in the long run, the pledge to maintain stability and unity inside our party will gradually yield to disorder. It is now time to bring this problem up for discussion. Otherwise, we may have to face serious consequences. Certainly we must handle this problem with great care. While doing so, we must also pay attention to policy and strategy and tactics.

In addition, there are other factors of instability. Among them are newly emerging vandals, various hooligans, criminals, counterrevolutionaries, the so-called "democrats" who oppose the Communist Party and socialism, anarchists, and other individual extremists. Although these elements differ in character and personality, under specific conditions they can meet and form a destructive force, thus threatening stability and unity. This being the case, we cannot

be soft-hearted. Others who have gone astray should undergo criticism and education.

During the 1980's, we should display determination to accomplish the four modernizations. The time is very pressing; we cannot rest for a single day. The entire party and the people throughout the country must concentrate their energy on promoting construction and should resolutely resist and overcome any interference. For this reason, we must go all out to preserve the political system of stability and unity. The preservation of stability and unity is the common responsibility of all cadres and people throughout the country.

Persistent efforts must be made to achieve this goal. When delivering a speech and taking actions to handle contradictions and problems, we should refrain from doing anything that is harmful to the stability of our society and unity within the ranks of the party and among the people throughout the country.

Consolidating and developing stability and unity call for persistent and multifaceted efforts by people from all walks of life to carry democracy forward and improve our legal system. In the final analysis, we must accomplish modernization and strengthen the leadership of the Communist Party, which are essential to the preservation of stability and unity in our country for a long time to come.

But social stability is built on a material base--a simple philosophy we must bear in mind. If we cannot develop production, improve the economy, and raise the people's living standards, will they continue to sincerely support the leadership of our party? Such being the case, can the social order and stability be truly maintained? In view of this, we must concentrate our energy on accomplishing modernization, and devote the next few years to remarkably strengthening our economy and successfully resolving various economic problems. Only in this way can we play a decisive role in promoting stability and unity.

We should build a strong nucleus capable of rallying the people behind a common cause. In the past, our country was as divided as if it were a heap of loose sand. This disunited condition of our country did not come to an end until the Communist Party, now the mainstay of our country, moved forward to unite all forces to carry the great cause to success. History shows that the Chinese Communist Party is the only elite force capable of rallying the people throughout the country behind the common cause. As long as our party's line is correct, its organization is strong, and its workstyle is fine, it is certain that the party can rally the people closely behind their common cause and lead them to overcome all forms of disruptive interference and eradicate all factors of disorder in achieving stability and unity. The preservation of the leadership of our party is the key to success in achieving stability and unity. The principle of preserving the leadership of the party brooks no violation. If it is violated, China is bound to face further division, disorder, and turmoil. The disorder across the land caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" began with their efforts to disrupt life inside the party. We should never forget this historical lesson. The long years of serious

damage that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did to our party still leave a hidden wound yet to be healed. Although we have formulated a correct political line, many problems in ideology, organization, and workstyle remain to be solved. Some party members, including old party members, have failed to act as models; many people still continue to enjoy special privileges and practice unhealthy workstyles and are unwilling to strictly observe discipline. Other people still cling to their respective factions and pit the factions against the party. All these factors are bound to have an adverse impact on the unity of the party, to cause the masses to lose their confidence in the party, and to hurt its fighting strength. Only by upholding the party's leadership, striving to strengthen the building of the party, and improving the art of its leadership can our party organizations at all levels truly become a strong nucleus force capable of rallying the masses behind the common cause.

9574

CSD: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

REHABILITATION OF LIU SAID IN BEST MARXIST TRADITION

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 8 Mar 80 p 3

[Article by Wei Zhen (7279 4176): "Seeking Truth From Facts is a Basic Principle of Marxism"]

[Text] An important decision was made by the fifth plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee, which was a meeting of historical significance. It was to completely remove the wrongful condemnation from and wipe out the injustice to Comrade Liu Shaoqi, thus restoring his fame as a great Marxist and proletarian revolutionary and one of the principal leaders of the party and nation. The fact that the greatest wrongful condemnation in our party's history can be thoroughly overturned has reflected the wishes of the whole party and millions of people of the entire nation, and there is real rejoicing by the party and the people. This fully indicates that our party is an earnest, openhearted party and is also a party which will stand up for the truth and seek truth from facts.

Seeking truth from facts is a basic principle of Marxism, our party's fine tradition, and the most basic method of thinking and working that can be possessed by all Communist Party members. Seeking truth from facts is never a slogan without substance and should be our guide in all our actions. Therefore we must adhere to it at all times and for any problem. It is only natural that a person or a party should make this or that mistake in the intricate struggle and on the long journey of revolution. The problem is that we should self-consciously and courageously admit and correct mistakes. Our party's consistent guiding principle is to seek truth from facts and correct every mistake.

During the period of the Great Cultural Revolution, because estimates of the situations within the party and the nation went against practice, and because the antirevolutionary activities of usurping the party and fighting for power were conducted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," Comrade Liu Shaoqi was innocently condemned as the so-called greatest power clique within the party who was taking the capitalist road, and he was smeared as "a rebel, an enemy agent, and a thief of the workers." Because his "surrogates" were dragged out high and low throughout the nation, many old proletarian revolutionaries and a majority of old revolutionary cadres

were condemned as "the democratic clique" and "the capitalist clique," with the worst results that have ever happened in the party's history. During the past several decades, Comrade Liu Shaoqi has been consistently faithful to the party and the people, and has devoted his whole life to the proletarian revolutionary cause. His achievements were always remembered, both in the period of our nation's new democratic revolution and in the period of socialist revolution and reconstruction, and he has enjoyed high prestige among the multitude of party members and the masses of the people. However, this great Marxist was smeared as the leader of revisionism opposing Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Liu Shaoqi was criticized by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for never mentioning the term "Mao Zedong Thought" in his book entitled "On Self-Cultivation of Communist Party Members." What is the truth of the matter? This book contains the speech to the Yanan Marxist-Leninist Institute delivered by Comrade Liu Shaoqi in July 1939, and there was still no such term as Mao Zedong Thought in existence at that time. How could the criminal charge of opposing Mao Zedong Thought be violently leveled against him on the grounds that the term Mao Zedong Thought was never mentioned in the book? On the contrary, that term actually was first proposed by Comrade Liu Shaoqi at the Seventh National People's Congress. How can the man who proposed the term Mao Zedong Thought be the chief culprit opposing Mao Zedong Thought? This actually means that in order to denounce a person, there is no worry about the charges. Is there a trace of seeking truth from facts in this matter? Therefore, during the period that Comrade Liu Shaoqi was being miserably persecuted, not a few people were feeling angry about the injustice done to him, and people kept remembering him deeply for many years. During the period that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were engaged in their poor brand of socialism, promoted an extreme leftist line in the countryside, criticized the so-called "three freedoms and one contract," "work points in command" and "material incentives," and caused unspeakable suffering to the people, many cadres and the masses in the countryside did not agree at heart with those criticisms of Comrade Liu Shaoqi by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and kept remembering Comrade Liu. Now that the fifth plenary session has freed Comrade Liu Shaoqi from wrongful condemnation and has expanded justice, not only has the reputation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi himself been restored, but the party has also clearly distinguished right from wrong in important matters. This is of great significance in maintaining socialist democracy and the rule of law, in further dispelling chaos and restoring peace, and in thoroughly implementing the party's line and policy.

Adhering to the principle of seeking truth from facts and correcting every mistake is a politically honest attitude and evidence that our party is strong. Our party is a proletarian party. To render service wholeheartedly to the people is our party's sole purpose. Aside from the interests of the proletariat and the masses of people, no personal interests are to be gained by our party. Anything beneficial to the people should prevail at all times, and anything detrimental to the people should be corrected without reservation. During the period that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were ruling as tyrants, there existed so many unjust, false and wrong condemnations that serious calamities befell our nation and a bad moral atmosphere of opportunism and mutual deception occurred, with serious suppression of the objective of the masses. To these unjust, false and wrong

condemnations, we should make thorough corrections with the attitude of seeking truth from facts. After the "gang of four" was smashed, and especially since the third plenary session, our party has adhered to the principle of seeking truth from facts, and has done a large amount of work with the result that many unjust, false and wrong condemnations have been overturned. Not only has the fame of a group of such old proletarian revolutionists as Feng Dahuai, Tan Zhu (7118 6999) and Hu Long (6170 7893) been restored, but a majority of old cadres who had been "staying away" for a long time have stepped again into working posts. At the fifth plenary session our party openly admitted and corrected its mistakes before the people of the whole nation and the whole world. This courageous action of correcting every mistake has seldom happened in the history of our nation and the whole world, indicating that our party is very hopeful and capable of accomplishing great things. In so doing, our party's prestige has been greatly enhanced, and our party is more ardently loved and supported by the masses of people. This will give rise to an immeasurable impetus to our undertaking of the four modernizations with stability and solidarity and with one mind and one heart.

To adhere to the basic Marxist principle of seeking truth from facts, it is necessary to engage in struggles. We should have seen the evil effects of the idealism and metaphysics being disseminated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and the bad influence of the extreme leftist line promoted by them has not yet been purged. Although great results have been gained in the work of correcting unjust, false and wrong condemnations, progress is not identical in different places, and more work has to be done in earnest. In order to adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts, it is necessary to have a clear and steady proletarian standpoint. We should rid ourselves of selfishness, never be afraid of the truth, courageously support the truth, and fighting for the truth. It is pointed out in the book "On Self-Cultivation of Communist Party Members" by Comrade Liu Shaoqi, "One who has individualist thinking is likely to self-consciously ignore, cover up and distort truth for personal interests." Some comrades made certain obvious mistakes and found that there were certain opinions from the masses, but in order to maintain their "prestige" they still attempted to act as gallant fellows and stuck to their mistakes to the end. There is not a trace of the flavor of a Communist Party member in them, because this is quite separate from the basic principle of seeking truth from facts, without regard to the standard of truth. What will be the consequences? Not only is their own prestige damaged, but the party's cause will also be endangered and the party's fighting capacity weakened. We have seen a number of examples of this kind. Therefore, once we make a mistake or do something wrong, we have to correct it decisively, and the quicker the better. This is the attitude called seeking truth from facts. In so doing, not only is personal prestige not damaged but, on the contrary, our own determination and action will be witnessed by the masses of people, and prestige will be enhanced.

In order to adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts, the most important thing is to unite theory and practice and to be consistent in words and deeds. Unification of theory and practice, together with consistency of what is said and done, is one of the most important indicators

distinguishing our party from other parties. The reason that our party has enjoyed the prestige of the masses of people is that we have armed the masses with correct theory and influenced the masses with model actions. We have to try to avoid saying one thing and doing another. It was pointed out in Comrade Liu Shaoqi's book "On Self-Cultivation of Communist Party Members" that as Communist Party members, we should "seek truth from facts and test all theories and right and wrong in revolutionary practice." By testing through practice, we can decide right from what is right and wrong from what is wrong, and mistakes will be corrected. Some comrades talk persuasively about seeking truth from facts, and also talk eloquently about correcting every mistake, but their actions appear to be quite different. They also talk about doing what is good for the interests of the people and correcting what is wrong for the interests of the people. But in reality they will claim all the credit for themselves and shift all the blame on others. This habitual practice of inconsistency in words and deeds and lack of conformity in statements and conduct, and also the style of separating theory from practice, are in violation of the attitude of communist materialism. That the fifth plenary session freed Comrade Liu Shaoqi from wrongful condemnation concretely reveals the party's fine tradition of linking theory with practice. In the course of learning and carrying through the spirit of the fifth plenary session, we have to positively and responsibly continue solving similar problems that are not yet solved or not entirely solved, following the spirit of seeking truth from facts as set forth by the fifth plenary session in freeing the wrong condemnation from Comrade Liu Shaoqi, and earnestly and properly dealing with those comrades who have committed serious mistakes. The spirit of the fifth plenary session will be put to use to unify our thinking and our actions. In the same manner, we also have to attack difficulties and solve problems encountered in the construction of the four modernizations with the spirit of seeking truth from facts. Problems and difficulties we encounter exist objectively. We have to admit them, face them directly, and attack them with all possible means by pushing forward and by relying on the masses. We should not adopt the policy of not recognizing or trying to avoid difficulties and problems. This is the attitude of seeking truth from facts. By so doing, the party's leadership will be strengthened and improved, and the party's fighting capacity will be enhanced so that the masses of people will rally round the party in solidarity to proceed more rapidly and effectively with construction of the four modernizations.

9503

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

IMPORTANCE OF LAW, MORALITY TO SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Wuhan JIANGNAN LUNTAN (CHANGJIANG AND HAN RIVER FORUM) in Chinese No 4, 15 Nov 79 pp 56-61

[Article by Yu Xianyu (0151 0341 0056) and Wang Rucheng (3769 3067 3397): "The Socialist Legal System and Communist Morality"]

[Text] A proverb says: No system will take shape in the absence of the code of conduct. Various codes of conduct are always essential to the survival and development of a society. Otherwise, disorder would prevail. The socialist legal system and communist morality are two important codes of conduct governing the human relationships in socialist society and the relationship between society and its members. Presently, while publicizing and implementing the resolution of the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress on strengthening the socialist democracy and socialist legal system, we consider it absolutely necessary to conscientiously study the roles of the socialist legal system and communist morality and their relationship as a step in strengthening the socialist legal system and carrying forward communist morality. Only in this way can we swiftly build China into a powerfully modern socialist country.

1. Socialist Legal System, an Important Code of Conduct

Following the downfall of the "gang of four," the Fifth NPC adopted and promulgated the new constitution, and its second session approved and proclaimed seven important laws, thus marking the beginning of a new period in the development of the social legal system in our country. But some related questions should be continuously answered in order to insure the successful implementation of the provisions of our constitution and some of the important laws. Only in this way can we bring into full play the role of the socialist legal system and create a situation in which the laws will be truly observed and strictly enforced and offenders will be brought to justice.

Does our socialist country need a legal system, and will a socialist legal system result in binding the hand and foot of the proletariat? This is a question of universal nature that needs to be answered. We think that

this question can be satisfactorily answered in a scientific way by consulting the international proletariat's experiences and our country's experiences in protracted revolutionary struggle, especially those positive and negative experiences we have gained over the past 30 years following the PRC's founding.

The law did not exist in prehistoric times. Nor was it something not subjected to change. The law came into being after the society was divided into classes. As a tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the law exists side by side with the state. The legal system of any ruling class has the effect of suppressing the governed classes and has a binding effect on its own members and their allies so as to prevent them from acting against interests of the ruling class. An important feature of a legal system is its universal binding effect on the people of a country after it has been put in force by coercive measures taken by the state. The ultimate objective of the proletariat is to build a classless and stateless communist society free from exploitation and oppression. Therefore, it hopes that the law will not exist forever. But the law will not fade away until classes and class differences cease to exist. Before that time comes, the proletariat cannot carry on its cause without such weapons as the law at its disposal. In a society where classes and class struggle still exist, human relationships cannot be regulated and the historical mission that has been entrusted to the proletariat cannot be fulfilled in the absence of the law. In the past, the exploiters of various dynasties had drafted and promulgated laws designed to suppress the working people and to consolidate the ruling order for the benefit of the exploiting classes. Today, why should our proletariat refrain from using this tool as a means of suppressing those social forces and antagonistic elements who are determined to resist the socialist revolution and sabotage socialist construction, as a means of defending the socialist economic base and the people's democratic rights, and as a means of consolidating the ruling order for the benefit of the proletariat?

After leading the October Revolution to victory in Russia, Lenin attached great importance to the establishment of a socialist legal system. He personally played a leading role in formulating and putting into effect a series of basic laws, thus blazing a path for the Soviet state to develop a legal system. During the Lenin and Stalin eras, the Soviet Union lived under the threat of capitalist economic sanctions. But it succeeded in carrying out the socialist revolution and construction despite this threat. This success should be attributed to the implementation of the Soviet legal system. On the other hand, some mistakes were also committed when the Soviet Union was under Stalin's reign. Included in these mistakes was the escalation of the campaign to suppress the counterrevolutionaries. These mistakes can also be traced to the imperfection of the Soviet legal system and the lack of a healthy socialist democratic life.

In leading the Chinese revolution, the great leader Chairman Mao consistently attached importance to the development of a legal system.

During the First Revolutionary Civil War, Comrade Mao Zedong opened a course in "legal knowledge" at the Guangzhou Peasant Movement Research Institute. During the Second Revolutionary Civil War, the democratic power led by our party in the revolutionary base area adopted and put into effect a series of laws and decrees, including some documents of the constitutional nature. A "constitutional outline", the first of its kind ever enacted by the Chinese people, was approved by the First National Congress of Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers, held in Ruijin, Jiangxi Province, on 7 November 1931. During the War of Resistance against Japan, Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly emphasized the need to establish a revolutionary legal system. The "Proclamation by the Government of the Shanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region and the Rear Headquarters of the Eighth Route Army," personally drafted by Comrade Mao Zedong on 15 May 1938, was in essence a document full of systematic revolutionary legal thoughts. In response to the needs of the struggle at that time, the proclamation made public four regulations, pointing out: "These regulations should be observed by all members of the armed forces and all civilians throughout the border region, and no violation whatsoever will be permitted. Henceforth, should any lawless person dare plot disruption, the border region government and the rear headquarters will enforce these regulations to the letter and will accept no plea of ignorance."

The PRC's founding created a condition for the nation to establish a full-fledged socialist legal system. In 1949, on the eve of the PRC's founding, our respected and beloved Premier Zhou personally presided over the drafting of the "Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference," which was later approved by its first plenary session. This "common program" had the effect of a provisional constitution during the early days of the PRC. Subsequently, the Central People's Government promulgated a series of laws and decrees based on the "common program." Among them were the "penalty regulations against counterrevolutionaries," "penalty regulations against embezzlers," "regulations on labor insurance" and the "marriage law." The promulgation and implementation of these laws and decrees quickly restored revolutionary order to a vast country like ours, inhabited by millions of people who had long suffered under semi-colonial and feudal regulations and from division and disorder. With these laws and decrees in force, we devoted only 3 years to reviving the national economy, which had been severely damaged by the Guomindang reactionaries, thus enabling us to start a massive economic construction. To meet the need to deepen the socialist revolution and construction, the First Plenary Session of the First NPC, which opened on 20 September 1954, unanimously adopted the "Constitution of the People's Republic of China," drafted under Comrade Mao Zedong's personal guidance. In discussing its draft, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "An organization must have rules, and so must a state. A constitution is a set of general rules; it is the fundamental law." Based on the PRC's constitution, many laws were enacted. Before the Great Cultural Revolution, the "Compilation of the Laws and Regulations of the People's Republic of China" was renewed every year. Among the regulations proclaimed during this period were the "regulations on the operation of the

high-level model agricultural cooperatives," "the law concerning detention and arrests," and the "penalty law of the public security organs." Repeatedly emphasizing the importance of the revolutionary legal system, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The law must be observed, and the revolutionary legal system must not be undermined. Our laws are made by the working people themselves. They are designed to maintain revolutionary order and to protect the interests of the working people, the socialist economic base, and the productive forces." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 5, pp 358-359) Comrade Mao Zedong also personally proposed drafting a criminal law and civil code for the PRC. In view of this, there had been some success in developing the socialist legal system in our country during the 17 years before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

As a tool of the proletariat, the socialist legal system has been hated by all antagonistic classes and forces. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were culprits guilty of undermining the socialist legal system. They trampled underfoot the laws and took advantage of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to destroy the revolutionary legal system established over a long period. They rapidly called for "smashing the public security organs, procuratorates and people's courts" and for "thoroughly improving the dictatorship of the proletariat." They viciously criticized the socialist legal system as "capitalist and revisionist stuff" and called all forms of sound regulations and rules "conventions which shackle the revolution" and "examples of controlling, checking, and suppressing workers" which in their opinion should be overthrown. They openly supported and instigated criminal activities, alleging that beating, smashing, and looting were "acts of revolutionary rebels." They deliberately violated citizens' rights by sending their agents to arrest, detain, parade, and criticize the innocent and confiscate their property without warrants. Many cadres and people suffered greatly from the damage Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did to the socialist legal system. Some old cadres who feared neither enemies with guns nor sacrifices and survived revolutionary wars were eventually tortured to death by the followers of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" after their basic rights of personal freedom were violated in gross disregard of the revolutionary legal system. It was ironic that such things occurred under a socialist system. We must remember this lesson that cost us blood. Is this lesson sufficient to teach us from its negative example that the socialist legal system is indispensable to the revolutionary people at all times?

The legal system clearly has its class nature. In the old society, under the rule of the landlord and capitalist classes, laws were enacted to suppress the working people. These old laws have been smashed by the proletariat through the revolution. But under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must spontaneously defend the revolutionary judicial authority of the socialist legal system--a system which was instituted by the people themselves and which represents the interests of the proletariat and the working people. Any failure to enact or observe laws and

regulations would certainly provide the bad elements with an opportunity to harm the good people, to disrupt social order and to disturb the peace cherished by our country and its people. Since the socialist legal system reflects the will of the proletariat and represents the basic interests of the proletariat and the working people, how could anyone say that it will have the effect of shackling the hand and foot of the proletariat? It is now clear that the socialist legal system is designed only to fetter the hands and feet of those law offenders. Their hands and feet must be bound, and the tighter the better. Otherwise, the revolution and the people would suffer frustrations and setbacks. Comrade Mao Zedong once pointed out: "Acting in accordance with the law does not mean being bound hand and foot. Be sure to act in accordance with the law and with hands and feet unfettered." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 3 p 359) In view of this, the belief that the revolutionary legal system has the effect of shackling the hands and feet of the proletariat is totally wrong. Nonetheless, we must realize that any revolutionary legal system takes time to improve and perfect. At the same time, as the time goes on and the situation develops, some laws may become obsolete and may turn out to be an obstacle to the development of the economic base, and therefore should be spontaneously readjusted and modified. It is not difficult to solve this problem as long as it is handled in a serious manner. As Communist Party members and revolutionary people, we have no reason to fear the revolutionary legal system. Fearing that the revolutionary legal system may result in shackling our hands and feet means fearing that our will may act against our hands and feet. It really sounds ridiculous.

II. Communist Morality Is a Code of Conduct Indispensable to All

Our society needs not only a socialist legal system but also the communist code of ethics.

Morality is a form of social ideology--a code of conduct designed to regulate human relationships and the relationships between individuals and their society. Morality is a special feature of social ideology, and a code of ethics which judges human behavior in terms of good and bad, justice and injustice, fairness and prejudice, honesty and hypocrisy.

In class society, morality has a strong class nature. "The concept of being good and bad has undergone radical changes and varies from nation to nation and from time to time. It changes so much that contradictory versions frequently emerge." ("Anti-Duehring," p 90) In any period of history, moral standards also vary from class to class. When society is divided into classes, whoever talks about the universal and eternal code of ethics that transcends classes would be treated as unrealistic and crazy. In refuting Duehring, Engels said: "We repudiate any attempt to convey any moral dogma as an eternal, ultimate, and unalterable code of ethics and to impose it on us. We are convinced that all old theories of morality were, in the final analysis, products of different socioeconomic conditions; even now, society still moves in the direction of clash between

antagonistic classes, and therefore all forms of morality are class-oriented." ("Anti-Duehring," p 91)

Proletarian morality means communist morality. During the socialist historical period, communist morality is also a form of class-oriented morality. Just as Lenin once said: "Our morality entirely serves the interests of the proletarian struggle. Our morality, which is extracted from the concepts of the proletarian struggle, is aimed at destroying the old society of exploiters, and at rallying all working people around the proletariat in creating a new communist society." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 4, pp 352-353) Such being the case, promoting the communist morality means defending the interests of the proletariat, and any attempt to undermine it means betraying the interests of the proletariat and the socialist cause. For this reason, promoting the communist morality is a serious matter that cannot be treated lightly.

The proletariat's communist code of ethics embodies lofty communist ideals, noble virtues, and revolutionary collective heroism. Love for the motherland, observance of laws, and discipline, selflessness, devotion to the public interest, love for public property, faithful fulfillment of one's obligations to society, observance of regulations governing social activities and public order, respect for human dignity, and adherence to proletarian internationalism--all these are unshakable principles which form the backbone of the communist code of ethics. Since the law is a mandate that demands obedience, the preservation of the communist moral principles depends on voluntary observance by the people. Aware that in a socialist society, communist morality represents the basic interests of the proletariat and the working people, "The people will quickly change their attitude toward observing the simple and basic regulations governing public life from a matter of necessity to a matter of voluntary observance." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 3, p 259) This is only one aspect of the matter. On the other hand, we must also realize that as a form of social ideology, the concept of morality often lags behind the changing social material base. Because the influence of the bourgeoisie and of all other exploiting classes still exists, and because the bourgeois and feudal codes of ethics still hold sway over the people's thinking, it is unlikely that the masses in our society will spontaneously observe the communist code of ethics. Because of this, the proletariat should not hesitate to break with the old concepts of morality and foster new ones, and must criticize the man-eating moral principles of the old society. Only in this way can we introduce a new form of morality and new, healthy practices to our society.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were culprits guilty of undermining the socialist legal system and communist morality and ruining healthy social practices. They worshiped bourgeois egoism, "regarding insatiable pursuit of self-interest as the law of the land and treating other fellows like wolves." They vilified diligent students as intellectuals aspiring to become specialists without socialist consciousness, and hailed clowns who turned in blank examination papers as "heroes." Their aim was to peddle their obscurantist philosophy. They regarded law-abiding people as ones of

slavish mentality, and vandals and riffraffs as "fighters capable of resisting the tide" and blazing a new trail in the fields of their choice. For years, the level of morality in our society has sunk to a new low as the result of damage caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Now we must make efforts to strengthen education in the communist code of ethics and restore and carry forward the fine revolutionary tradition once disdained by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Especially, youngsters must be encouraged to study diligently, to observe discipline, to be polite to others, to love manual labor, to voluntarily help the people, and to practice the revolutionary style of plain living and hard struggle and heroism in the struggle against the enemy. Only in this way can we transform the younger generation into one loyal to the socialist motherland, the proletarian revolutionary cause, and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and raise the level of our social morality.

The communist code of ethics places a greater demand on people than the socialist legal system. It embodies ideas which have a binding effect on the people's conduct. The moral idea of distinguishing good from bad deeply rooted in the people's minds embodies a demand to commend good people and eliminate bad elements. The communist code of ethics does not tolerate any act which was publicly denounced. It also regards anyone who lied to the party and people as an indecent person. In other words, our society does not tolerate liars. The principles of sincerity and honesty and seeking truth from facts should be upheld and applied to any dealings between the organizations and individuals and among the individuals themselves. The principle of being honest in thought, word, and deed proposed by the Daqing workers should form part of the communist code of ethics. The socialist legal system should also stipulate that liars are not tolerated. Although our criminal law contains provisions penalizing anyone guilty of false accusations and perjury and of offering faked evidence, the communist code of ethics should be brought into play where the law is ineffective. For example, if anyone gives false information in his application form for admission to the party, no legal action can be taken against him. But he can be subjected to moral reproach to disciplinary action by the party. The communist code of ethics can censure and discredit those individuals who often lie to their colleagues although they break no law. Our cadres and general public are urged to play an exemplary role in observing the laws and the communist code of ethics.

We have emphasized that morality has its class nature, but we do not deny that morality is inheritable. Some of the communist moral principles sometimes are similar to the capitalist or even feudal and slaveowning codes of ethics in terms of formality. For example, theft was condemned by the Roman Empire and by dynasties throughout the Middle Ages, and it is opposed by modern capitalist societies. "Thou shalt not steal" is a principle contained in the Bible. Socialist societies where capitalism has been overthrown also do not tolerate theft. This does not indicate that some moral ideas are eternal principles that transcend classes. Although some communist moral principles are similar in language and formality to

their counterparts in earlier societies, they are not same in essence. Both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat need the state and laws, but this does not mean that these two classes have anything in common. The term "theft is a shameful act" contained in the communist code of ethics is also at variance with the moral principle "thou shall not steal" in feudal and capitalist societies in terms of substance. In societies based on the private ownership of property, theft was banned so that the private property of the exploiting classes could be protected. But in socialist societies built on the public ownership of property, theft is prohibited in order to protect the public property and defend citizens' legitimate rights and interests. Slaveowning, feudal, and capitalist societies have banned theft for the same purpose of preserving private ownership of proper property, and they have inherited this moral sense not only in form but also in essence. The communist code of ethics has inherited the idea of opposition to theft only in form but not in essence from the old concept of morality. These two codes of ethics against theft differ in content and essence. The old concept of morality against theft has been absorbed into the communist code of ethics in a critical way. In other words, the proletariat has remolded and lent new substance to the bourgeois concept of morality against theft before it was adopted for the purpose of preserving the socialist public ownership of property and protecting the people's means of subsistence. It must be pointed out that the moral taboo that theft is a disgrace is not eternal. In the future communist society, with the productive forces developing at a high rate of speed and material wealth reaching the degree of affluence, "the principle of from each according to his ability and to each according to his need" will be realized. When that time comes, will there be still anyone who wants to steal for a living? "In a society where the motive of theft has been eliminated, or in a society where only the insane try to steal, if a moral preacher suddenly steps forward to announce this eternal truth 'thou shall not steal,' what a roar of laughter he will draw!" ("Anti-Duehring" p 91) Everything undergoes change. The moral code is no exception. But unlike the law, morality will not fade out as the classes do. As society moves forward, class-oriented morality will be replaced by a universal code of ethics. Just as Engels said: "Only after society advances to a stage where rivalry between classes has been not only eliminated but also forgotten by the people in real life, and where such rivalry is circumvented and its memory is gone, can genuine human morality become possible." ("Anti-Duehring," p 92)

III. Two Codes of Conduct, a Single Purpose

The socialist legal system and communist morality are two codes of conduct and are interrelated but distinguishable from each other in many ways.

The socialist legal system can identify with communist morality in the following ways: Both form part of the superstructure serving the socialist economic base. The former's emergence and the latter's growth as a dominant ideology can come only after the proletariat has seized political

power. Both use Marxism as their guiding principle, and their common mission is to defend the socialist economic base, to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to insure success in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The socialist legal system and communist morality have many other things in common. Generally speaking, acts banned under the socialist legal system are certain to be condemned by adherents to communist morality. The communist code of ethics encourages people to perform deeds which are commended and praised under the socialist legal system. Acts such as counterrevolutionary activities, treason, murder, arson, robbery and so on are listed as dangerous crimes under the socialist legal system, and regarded as the most perverted behavior, deserving repeated condemnation, from the standpoint of the communist code of ethics. In short, any act harmful to society and people is neither accepted by adherents to the communist code of ethics nor tolerated by the socialist legal system. Any crime offends not only the law but also the communist code of ethics as well. In view of this, the two can help and complement each other. The socialist legal system is designed to deal blows to the enemy, protect the people, and teach the people what is legal, what is illegal, what acts are encouraged, and what activities are banned. In a sense, the socialist legal system can play a very significant role in educating the people in the moral aspects of life, in helping them to combat bourgeois morality, and in hastening the downfall of the old code of ethics. On the other hand, the communist code of ethics forms "an important front in the struggle against criminal offences" and can play an active role in strengthening the socialist legal system. Observance of party discipline and of the law of the land is an important principle called for in the communist code of ethics. The prevalence of morality is undoubtedly instrumental in speeding up the implementation of the legal system. An observation of their identical functions shows that the task of strengthening the socialist legal system and that of promoting the communist morality are indivisible; both are means that can be used by the proletariat to fulfill its great historical mission. But in the final analysis, the socialist legal system and communist morality occupy two different positions in the socialist superstructure, and they cannot be confused. If the two positions are confused, their roles in dealing blows to the enemy, in educating the people and, in firing up their enthusiasm for socialism will be weakened. What are the differences between the two?

They affect life in different ways. The socialist legal system is the tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat and a powerful weapon that can be used by the proletariat to deal blows to all reactionary social forces determined to undermine the socialist revolution and the socialist construction, and to protect the people's democratic rights. But the laws are promulgated and put into force by the state. No matter how numerous their provisions and how rich their content, their influence on the people is not unlimited. In terms of moral obligations and commitment, the influence of morality is more pervasive than laws, and can affect all forms

of human relations. For example, inordinate behavior, selfishness, arrogance, and inclination to gloat over disasters that befall other people are acts that offend the communist code of ethics but are not regarded as crimes. For this reason, they are not liable to punishment but can be morally condemned.

The ways to promote their implementation are different. The socialist legal system is the arm and the regulations of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and its enforcement organ has the backing of state power. Unlike the socialist legal system, the realization of the communist code of ethics cannot depend on the backing of state power but on the people's voluntary response, pressures exerted by the public opinion, and massive campaigns to promote a new code of ethics and new healthy practices, to pay tribute to new personalities and new deeds, and to inspire the people to foster a new fine lifestyle for the generations to come.

They arrived at different times and anticipate a different future. The socialist legal system came into being after the reactionary bourgeois state organ was overthrown by the proletariat through violent revolution. The survival of the socialist legal system depends on whether the people are at the helm of their state organ. As soon as the state ceases to exist, also gone will be the tool of the class dictatorship or the legal system, which will be replaced by new classless rules and regulations. Unlike the socialist legal system, the communist code of ethics began to take shape during the prolonged struggle which led the proletariat to seize the political power. After the people became masters of their own country, it began to take its position as a dominant ideology and continues to gain popularity as the socialist revolution and socialist construction develop in depth. Even when the ideals of communism are realized, it will not fade out; on the contrary, it will continue to develop in an all-round way until it becomes a common code of conduct spontaneously observed by the members of society as a whole.

In short, there are both interconnections and differences between the socialist legal system and communist morality. This relationship demands that we should neither mistake criminal acts for violation of the communist code of ethics, thus leaving criminals unpunished, nor allow ourselves to mistreat the ordinary offenders of the communist code of ethics as law-breakers, thus wrongly putting them on trial. It is imperative to draw a clear line between the function of the socialist legal system and that of the communist code of ethics. Only in this way can we deal the enemy steady, accurate, and relentless blows, effectively protect the people, and correctly handle the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people. If we confused real lawbreakers with offenders of the code of ethics, we would be condoning the bad elements and appeasing evildoers and encouraging evil propensities. If we enlarged the target of attack, it would result in infringing on the legitimate rights of citizens who break no law although they offend the code of ethics. In view of this, we are obliged to make clear to the public which acts are within the norms

of the socialist legal system and communist code of ethics, which acts violate the law and discipline and offend the communist code of ethics, and which acts offend the communist code of ethics but not the law. Only in this way can we strengthen the socialist legal system and raise the level of communist morality.

An upsurge in economic construction will certainly give rise to an upsurge in cultural development. It is anticipated that with the arrival of the spring of science and technology will come the spring of legality and morality. Only by firmly grasping these two weapons--the socialist legal system and communist morality, can we strive to achieve the grand goal of the four modernizations.

9374

CSO: 4003

PARTY AND STATE

PROBLEM OF DEFINING CORRECT 'ORIENTATION' OUTLINED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Apr 80 p 2

[Article by Han Lan (0589 1526): "On 'Orientation'"]

[Text] We often hear the following argument in the countryside: "The method is certainly good for it can mobilize the activism of members, but we are afraid that the orientation is incorrect," or, "This policy is favored by the people for it can help increase production, but we are afraid that we may commit an offense because of its orientation."

The argument is seemingly strange. How can people confuse "orientation" with "production?" After having listened to more of the argument, I now realize that it is not without reason that the rank-and-file cadres in the countryside are worried. A small, poor village decided to implement the system of "five fixes and one guarantee," and it underwent an aboutface. The comrades responsible for the supervision of that district convened a meeting to criticize the party branch secretary of that brigade: "Who doesn't know that the method can increase grain production? Though it is productive, its orientation is incorrect and the policy cannot be implemented!" A few years ago, the phrase "incorrect orientation" became a formidable political label on people. Whenever it was used, people recoiled from making decisions.

We communists have goals and orientations. But which orientations are correct and which are not? In one dictionary, "orientation" is defined as "the correct position, the target for progress." Our orientation and target is to build socialism and to aim at the realization of communism. The two most obvious differences between socialism and capitalism are: the transformation of private property into public property, and the principle of reward according to labor. People who do not work will not be fed. In order to maintain our socialist stand, we have to maintain our system of public ownership of production materials. On the other hand, we must adhere to the principle of "work according to our ability and distribution according to our labor." But there is more than one way to achieve this goal. There are many different ways to reach our goal. Development of socialism aims at producing more and more material, greater and greater wealth, and we cannot let people become poorer and poorer. No one can say that an increase in grain production means capitalism, and that a hungry stomach means socialism. By the very premise

of socialism, "correct orientation" and "increase in grain production" are consistent, and they must be so. This is because the establishment of socialism is based on the liberation of productive power.

Why are the two not considered consistent in some areas and units? One major reason is that the "leftist" line has infused into the word "orientation" a lot of "regulations" and "restrictions," and it makes the word "orientation" mysterious and confusing. For instance, if each household owns two chickens, it conforms to socialism; but if it owns several more chickens, it is considered capitalist. Rearing pigs and sheep is viewed as consistent with socialism, but rearing cattle is considered capitalist. Land left barren because of salinity or alkalinity is okay in socialism but it is considered a capitalist practice to distribute part of it to members for farming. In this way, members and cadres alike become wary all the time and whatever they do they are afraid of committing the wrong "orientation." This is particularly true among cadres who are most scared by the "trap." They stop making any decision whenever they hear the slightest hints of disapproval. It is true that some people in the countryside organize illegal activities, and some are such opportunists that they are hurting the collective economy. We have to educate and criticize these people at all times, or even penalize them if necessary. However, we cannot use the word "orientation" to scare people from engaging in activities which are not related to questions pertaining to "orientation" or "ideology," for doing so is to let the pernicious ideas of false socialism harass people. Everybody knows of the ridiculous and reactionary saying: "We prefer the grass of socialism to the seedlings of capitalism." Is it somewhat similar to this idea if people insist on having the right "orientation" and forget about production?

As comrade Mao said before: "The importance and significance of all the measures and practices of the party in our country ultimately depend on the degree to which they help production, and whether they restrict the productive power or liberate the productive power." In assessing whether an "orientation" is right or wrong, we should hold onto these two principles as criteria, that is, whether the policy is restricting production or whether it is promoting production. We can only examine and understand the policy through practice. We need to unshackle our thinking and smash the subjective and fictitious views of disguised socialism so as to liberate our productive power.

9471

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

THEORIES REGARDING 'ORIENTAL' DESPOTISM, AUTOCRACY REFUTED

Beijing SHIJIE LISHI [WORLD HISTORY] in Chinese No 1, 2 Feb 80 pp 89-93, 96

[Article by Liao Kunsheng (1675 1331 4141): "On Oriental Despotism"]

[Text] When reading books on social sciences, one may run across such terms as "Oriental despotism" and "Oriental autocracy." Although the interpretation of this term "Oriental despotism" has so far varied from person to person (up to now, there are still different interpretations of the term "Orient" and the areas it covers), controversy has also erupted over where the term "autocracy" originated and why it was practiced over such a long period of history (see Karl Wittfogel's "Oriental Despotism--A Comparative Study of Autocratic Countries" and other commentaries on the same subject published in the Soviet Union). Most of the people using the term "autocracy" often want to prefix it with "Oriental" (see work by Marian Saver: "Marxian and the Question of the Asiatic Mode of Production" 1977, pp 4-12). Since the beginnings of the discussion on the "Asiatic mode of production," most of the adherents of this term have stressed the autocratic nature of the government in Oriental countries (see "History of the Orient and World," Moscow edition, 1975, p 20; "Soviet Historical Encyclopedia," vol 1, p 267). Is there really an unbreakable link between "autocracy" and "Oriental"? A satisfactory answer to this question calls for conscientious research.

According to Marian Saver, the term "Oriental despotism" originated from the work by Adrien Helvetius entitled "De L'esprit" ["On Spirit"], which was published in 1758 and became popular in 1761 after Browne's (1580 2597 3583) book "A Study of the Origins of the Oriental Despotism" was published (see Marian Saver's "Marxian and the Question of the Asiatic Mode of Production").

The term "Oriental despotism" appeared and became popular in France during the 18th century. Its popularity with the people in France at that time reflected a fierce political struggle in the ideological field on the eve of the great revolution there. Its application by some French thinkers resulted from their desire to look for some foreign terms that could best illustrate their political views at home rather than from their interest in the history of Oriental countries, including their prehistoric period. (Marian Saver's "Marxian and the Question of the Asiatic Mode of Production," pp 12-25; the

assumption that Aristotle's "Politics" contains thoughts concerning "Oriental despotism" is wrong. Although Aristotle said in his "Politics" that barbarian tribes were more slavish than the Greeks and Asian savages were more slavish than the European barbarians, he did not form any link between autocracy and specific geographic regions.) Scientific research on the history of the ancient civilizations of the Orient began in the middle of the 19th century after the research on Egyptian and Assyrian cultures gained momentum.

Although the terms "Orient" and "Occident" were frequently used by writers of various political beliefs and persuasions, I feel that the practice of insistently affixing a specific governmental system with a specific geographic name is by no means scientific.

The history of each country in the world differs in many ways from that of other countries. They also have different heritages. In the final analysis, every society develops in conformity with the law of unity, and no society can ignore the contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production and between the economic base and the superstructure. As the productive forces advanced to a specific stage of development, a country was bound to emerge, and it would henceforth pass through the stage of private ownership and have to experience the contradictions between classes and the exploitation of one class by another. Any specific form of political organization (government system) is always closely linked with its economic base and will have to serve this economic base. This is why many forms of government adopted by countries of the world during specific periods of history were often similar to each other. In this connection, Marx pointed out: "When I say that economic bases are similar, I mean they are similar in terms of principle conditions but not similar in terms of countless experiences, natural conditions, racial relations, the historical influence of external forces, and other phenomena that are reflected in the discrepancies between various classes of society. An understanding of this requires analysis" ("Das Kapital" by Karl Marx, translated by Guo Dali [6753 0500 1129] and Wang Yanan [3769 0068 0589], 1966, People's Publishing House, vol 3, p p23).

An unprejudiced review of world history will lead us to easily discover that despotism as a form of government did not belong to any specific country in any specific region, nor did it come into being immediately after the birth of a country. The form of autocratic government had emerged for many reasons in different countries or regions during different periods of history and was practiced in different ways.

According to information already available to us, in the ancient Greek world the early and late rulers were endowed with despotic characters of varying degrees. These despots emerged in the ancient city-states during specific periods of history. The early rulers, or usurpers, were different from the later ones. Among the early rulers of the Greek city-states controlled by the Persian Empire, the rulers of Seleucia differed in its tyrannical nature from those of Corinth or of Athens. The "chief executive system" established by the ancient Roman Empire's Augustus was essentially a kind of one-man rule.

This type of one-man rule emerged under the strong traditional influence of the republic. In view of this, academic circles have carried on a prolonged debate over the political nature of the chief executive that once existed in history ("Augustus' Chief Executive System," Moscow Publishing House of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, 1949). The "monarchy" that emerged through the class struggle and various forms of sharp internal and external contradictions during the later stages of the Roman Empire differed in many ways from the principate system of the early days of the Roman Empire. The various forms of autocratic government that emerged in feudal European countries were also different from each other. Autocracy in Austria differed from Tsarist Russia's autocracy, in that they took shape in different periods of history and were based on different administrative systems. These two forms of autocracy were clearly at variance with the absolute monarchies that came into being in the United Kingdom and France shortly after the capitalist relations of production gained strength there. The form of autocracy in Byzantium was different from the form of autocratic government established by Spain after it recovered its lost territory and drove the invaders out of the country. Certainly we should not confuse the contemporary German and Italian fascist dictatorships with the "chief executive system" of the Augustan age, although Hitler also called himself a "chief executive."

To gain an insight into the governmental systems of various countries outside of Europe and their evolution and similarities and differences calls for a detailed historical materialist analysis on the basis of the irrefutable facts now available to us. Although it is still impossible to achieve a clear understanding of the true picture of transition from primitive to class society in many parts of the world, because of the lack of relevant historical information, it can be said with certainty that those earliest states that appeared outside of Europe were not tyrannical in nature ("Outline of Prehistoric World History", People's Publishing House, Beijing, 1979, vol 1, p 28). The evolution of despotism took place long after the emergence of a primitive form of states in the world. Despotism in the Afro-Asian region during the slaveowning, feudal, semifeudal, semicolonial, and colonial eras also varied from time to time and from place to place. As the capitalist system developed and the socialist system advanced triumphantly in some countries, democracy gained momentum, thus sweeping away the vestiges of despotism. The Pharaohs ruled ancient Egypt in a way that was different from the statecraft displayed by the Hittite emperors. The art of leadership displayed by the emperors of the Persian and Assyrian Empires was also different from one another. Even within the framework of the Assyrian Empire, the different kings had to rely on different political forces to control their respective domains. The forms of government in the Hittite Empire and Turkey and Sudan were not the same, although they were all located in Asia Minor. Examples of this are too numerous to mention here.

Undoubtedly there should be some reasons why this concept of "Oriental despotism" prolonged its life. The most plausible reason is that, as modern democracy thrived along with the capitalist economic system in the Western European capitalist countries, capitalism in many Afro-Asian countries remained in the initial stage of development; autocracy was pervasive in the

oldest civilizations such as Turkey, Persia, India, and China. This led researchers to ignore the fact that a nondespotic form of government once existed in that part of the world, as shown in some historical documents handed down from centuries ago. Generally speaking, autocracy could take deep root in a natural economy-predominant society. This is why autocracy was once widely pervasive in the slaveowning and feudal societies dominated by the natural economy. In studying and analyzing the democratic form of government that more or less existed in the ancient city-states, we must take into account the basic fact that it evolved directly from the clan system of prehistoric society, although how these city-states were born and developed remains a subject of debate among scholars.

According to Karl Wittfogel, the so-called "Orient" must include Egypt, West Asia, China, India, Mexico, and Peru. He said that in this "Orient," the special significance of irrigation to the development of agriculture was a factor that decided the division of labor in society, and the prolonged existence of rural communities induced the supreme rulers of the state, who were also builders and administrators of the water conservancy and irrigation projects, to adopt an autocratic system of government. Noting that there is a big loophole in this theory, he quickly added that whether water was in excessive supply or in short supply was not necessarily an overriding factor that would lead the government to control the water supply, and the government's control over the water supply was not necessarily a prelude to the implementation of a despotic system of government. According to him, regimented life existed only in what he called the special water power societies, far from the well-developed agricultural centers where farming relied on precipitation--societies in which the people subsisted on the collection of wild fruits and edible plants and their living standards fell below that of the modern industrialized societies based on private ownership (aforementioned book by Karl Wittfogel, p 12). Clearly, this idea resulted from his subjective imagination and was purposefully concocted to serve his special political aim. He also thought that this idea, plus what he called the "marginal" and "quasi-marginal" theory, would enable him to convince people that "Oriental despotism" originated in many Asian, African, and Latin American countries, and to point a finger of blame on the "Orient" for the emergence of despotism in the Roman and Russian Empires. (Aforementioned book by Karl Wittfogel, chapter 6. In his opinion, the central area of a hydraulic society was able to exercise a decisive influence over the economy and government in its "marginal" and "quasi-marginal" areas. For example, the rise of the Roman Empire resulted from its prolonged contact with the "Orient." In Japan, China's neighbor, where geographical features do not warrant a nationwide irrigation control system, a European-style feudal system eventually took shape instead of "Oriental despotism." In short, the relationship between the central area of a hydraulic society and its marginal areas could also be explained in a flexible way.)

Although A. N. Tsomyhnev is a highly successful scholar, his ideas on the relationship between geographical features and the historical development of various countries are incorrect. In 1957 and 1959, the Soviet magazine PROBLEMS OF HISTORY carried several articles attributed to him--articles

depicting geographical features as having a decisive impact on the shaping of a society and its system of government. (PROBLEMS OF HISTORY issues 6 and 9, 1957; issue 12, 1959) He maintained that the method of agricultural irrigation in ancient Egypt and countries along the Euphrates and Tigris rivers was different from that of Greece and Rome, and that it was precisely this mode of irrigation that led the former to adopt an autocratic form of government.

No one can deny that geographical features do have great influence on the shaping of a country. This is true for modern countries as well as for the old civilizations. During a specific period of history, the need to build irrigation projects was likely to have some impact on the shaping and development of autocracy. (Let me take this opportunity to say that since the late 1950s, Soviet geographers and historians have spared no effort to stress the role of geographical features in the development of history. Such discussions have been conducted in connection with the debate on the Asiatic mode of production. Aforementioned book by Marian Sawyer, pp 104-139.) But if we overly exaggerate the impact that the construction of irrigation projects in different geographical regions might have on the economic and political development of various countries, we may come up with some absurd conclusions on this subject. Facts reveal no absolute connection between autocracy and the mode of irrigation. The mode of irrigation should not be regarded as the only factor that can influence the development of the productive forces in any country and its economic and political systems. On the contrary, the productive forces were often in a commanding position to change the mode of irrigation in order to keep pace with their development. The history of the development of agriculture along the Euphrates and Tigris rivers powerfully testifies that irrigated agriculture was bound to emerge as the productive forces were advancing to a specific stage of development ("Outline of Prehistoric World History," vol 1, pp 9-12.) After the emergence of irrigated agriculture, the productive forces and the division of labor would continue to develop and improve.

Although autocracy existed in the Assyrian, Persian, and Hittite empires, its emergence there was not related in any way with the development of their irrigation projects. Bactria and Ctesiphon were states in which a slaveowning system was practiced. However, its emergence and development had nothing to do with the development of the irrigation projects. The formula that the method of irrigation has had a decisive impact on the shaping of governments was so ill conceived that it is by no means applicable to countries outside of Europe where the geographical features vary from place to place.

And though irrigation played a very significant role in the economic life of those ancient countries in Mesopotamia and Egypt, the history of their founding and development also provides no clues to justify the advocacy that the mode of irrigation played a decisive role in shaping their governments. In this connection, the following points should be emphasized: first, irrigation was practiced thousands of years before the birth of any country on earth; second, before various unified countries emerged in various parts of the world, numerous small city-states still proved capable of managing their own irrigation projects; third, city-states and autocracies were evidently two different things.

Modern scientific research on history shows that in ancient times, aristocratic republics once existed in Assyria, city-states appeared in Phoenicia and Palestine, and small countries, including republics, emerged in India. It is not true that ancient Yemen began to practice autocracy right after it was formed.

Some people have considered the prolonged existence of rural communities in ancient Afro-Asian countries to be a factor leading to the emergence of autocracies there ("Soviet Historical Encyclopedia," vol 5, pp 131-132). Modern scientific research on history reveals that the relationships between rural communities and various forms of government were very complicated and therefore warrant further in-depth research. Clay tablets unearthed along the Euphrates and Tigris rivers can enlighten us to the fact that rural communities existed when city-states emerged in the Afro-Asian region.

Books on "Oriental despotism" compiled by scholars of various persuasions have appeared. The special characteristics of "Oriental despotism" listed by these compilers can be generally summed up this way: there was strict enforcement of a centralized government; despots controlled many unwieldy bureaucratic organs; monarchs wanted to concentrate legislative, judicial, and executive powers unto themselves, and could do anything they wished and were responsible to no one; they wanted the people to believe that they received their authority directly from God and could expect the assistance of the theocratic authority in ruling their countries. Now I want to analyze whether these autocratic characteristics were unique properties of "Oriental despotism."

It is true that various forms of centralized government were practiced by autocrats in the remote and natural economy-predominant, slaveowning societies but not in the sense of the modern strict centralized government system. By using the Hammurabi-related documents as a basis for research, some people have jumped to the conclusion that monarchs in ancient countries outside of Europe practiced a strict form of centralized government. I am afraid that this conclusion is misleading. Contrary to this is the fact that countries in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia were long divided up by many insubordinate local tyrants.

We must recognize that any vast autocratic country was bound to introduce a huge bureaucracy to control its people. It was true in the past and is still true today both at home and abroad.

We must also recognize that all autocracies shared the common characteristic whereby monarchs often tended to concentrate legislative, judicial, and executive powers to themselves. Deprived of this, a monarch would immediately disqualify himself as a monarch. Wasn't it true that Augustus concentrated all power in himself? Wasn't Nero a despot typical for his wrongdoings and misdeeds? Of course, no one can deny that the degree of power that could be concentrated in a central government varied from country to country and from time to time, and for many different reasons. For example, monarchs in the United Kingdom and France during the late stage of feudalism were endowed with powers far less than those wielded by Qin Shihuang, the founding emperor of the

Qin Dynasty. This variation, however, did not result from different geographical features but from different historical backgrounds and traditions.

Under an autocratic system, a monarch usually could not avoid the temptation to build luxurious palaces and living quarters for himself and his family, and to develop and promulgate numerous regulations and rules as a way of ruling his country and demonstrating his dignity and eminence. Although undeniably historical traditions and national customs might be reflected in every royal project, they were only a matter of formality and were not essential in any sense. Every monarch in the past had a desire to promote his prestige. Alexander the Great of Macedonia and Tiberius of the Roman Empire conjured up numerous court etiquettes and proclaimed them with the aim of promoting their prestige. Their behavior in this respect was governed by their objective needs rather than by any Oriental influences.

A spiritual weapon and national doctrine cherished by all monarchs in the past were the theory that they received their authority directly from God. This was a weapon that could be used by them to strengthen their autocratic rule. Virgil wrote a long poem deifying Augustus in the name of eulogizing the ancestors of the Julian family, thus attracting praise and interest from Augustus himself. It goes without saying that in all slaveowning and feudal societies, theocratic authority and imperial power often worked hand in glove to achieve their common purpose.

A review of the aforementioned facts shows that there is no extraordinary form of "Oriental despotism" in the world. Saying so is not a denial that all autocratic forms of government practiced centuries ago by countries outside of Europe were different from each other in one way or another. It is clear that the term "Oriental despotism" has no scientific value. Despotism is not a unique property of the "Orient." Nor does "Oriental" despotism contain any elements of unusual significance.

9574

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

IMPORTANCE OF KNOWING, USING REAL TALENT STRESSED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 3 Apr 80 p 4

[Article by Liu Xianting (0491 0341 1694): "Judging Horses and Recognizing Talent"]

[Text] As I have been quite moved and inspired by the article "Analyzing the Horse-Judging Approach of Jiu Fanggao" [0046 2455 4108], published in No 145 of ZHIXUE (PHILOSOPHY), I want to say a few words.

Qin Mugong (in 659-621 B.C., Emperor Mugong ruled an ancient Chinese state called Qin during the Spring and Autumn Period of the Zhou Dynasty) always set the state above everything else. Seeing Bo Le advanced in age, he promptly brought up the matter of designating a successor to him. Through practice in horse hunting and through the struggle to acquire ideological understanding, Mugong finally got not only the "best horse in the state," but also Jiu Fanggao, an expert in judging horses. The satisfactory settlement of this matter was actually due to what was later noted: "The 'state's number one horse' would not have been discovered if it had not been for Jiu Fanggao; Jiu Fanggao wouldn't have succeeded without Bo Le; and Bo Le wouldn't have made it without Qin Mugong!" Above all, however, I am afraid that the whole thing wouldn't even have stood a chance of becoming true had there not been a common desire and the correct ideological understanding. Wouldn't the result have been entirely different if Mugong had not taken the trouble to get someone to take over from Bo Le and, after Mugong had raised concern about selecting a successor, if Bo Le had irresponsibly picked a "person of low ability" among the royal "sons" just to fill the position, and if Jiu Fanggao had taken things easy by casually selecting only an ordinarily good horse. Now we all realize the importance of having common aspirations and ideological understanding.

Everything divides into two under the sun. Come what may, essence and nonessence, as well as principal and secondary aspects, all coexist within an entity. The notion that "gold must be pure and man must be perfect" is not only illusive but unrealistic. In judging horses, the particular attention which Jiu Fanggao used to pay was nothing except

whether the horse could "gallop faster than the dust, dispelling the ruts." Like Bo Le, he realized that "galloping faster than the dust, dispelling the ruts" was the essential feature of "the best horse in the state," and that everything else was only secondary. Therefore, Jiu Fanguao used to "select the essence while discarding the dross, value the substance while neglecting outward appearances. See what should be seen, and turn a blind eye to phenomena that are not worth seeing." Jiu Fanguao had a good grasp of such a way of approaching problems, instead of trying to tackle big and small matters all at once, which is why he really knew how to discern excellent horses.

Someone might remark that Jiu Fanguao was correct in the main, but in the final analysis he did "neglect" or "overlook" certain aspects while "getting at the essence" and "focusing on the substance"; otherwise, wouldn't the matter have been attended to in every detail? In principle, this kind of demand would not seem to be too exacting, but it is really not feasible in practice, for this demand itself contains absolutes. Since no gold is pure, then, isn't it still realistic to expect that a "horse scout" would take note of all the minor details when seeking horses? Moreover, with such an unrealistic demand, people might end up losing a lot by trying to save a little. Wasn't it true that in that year Mugong almost stifled a real talent, as he had momentarily considered Jin Fanguao unable to judge horses when the latter mistakenly described a "male and black" horse as "female and yellow"?

It should be noted in this story that Jiu Fanguao's way of thinking in discerning "the best horse in the state" as praised by Bo Le still has practical significance today. We have noticed that in judging subordinates, some leading cadres are prone to confine their attention to the dross and to appearances rather than to the essence and the substance, and they think highly of only those they personally favor, and worse still, they rely on the dross and appearances as substitutes for the essence and substance. Consequently, what they see and perceive are just the opposite of what Jiu Fanguao stood for. During the administration of those leaders, only their sons or nephews fell within the category of "men of superior talent" that could be entrusted with important tasks, whereas all the others were just dwarfs. Shouldn't these comrades learn something from Jiu Fanguao? If these comrades patiently read this article "Analyzing the Horse-Judging Approach of Jiu Fanguao," it will really be helpful in straightening the ideological line, discovering real talent, and rectifying corrupt practices.

In this story of Jiu Fanguao judging horses, the rare and estimable qualities of Qin Mugong lie not only in his openmindedness and magnanimity and his stress on tactics, but also in his respect toward experts' views, as he would not do anything subjectively using the high prestige of emperor. Therefore, his ideas were closer to reality, and the people he selected were more up to par. For instance, seeing Bo Le advanced in age, Mugong promptly conferred with Bo Le on picking a successor from among

members of his royal family. But Bo Le did not "act in accordance with every sentence"; in fact, he turned around and recommended Jiu Fanguo, who was not of the same surname, let alone of the same clan. That was already somewhat "in defiance of an imperial decree," yet Bo Le acted as if he was conducting a class when he explained to Mugong the difference between good horses in general and "the best horse in the state," at the risk of being suspected of "defying the authority of the emperor." Mugong listened to Bo Le with modesty and an open mind (whether he understood or not would be another matter). He then approved and accepted Bo Le's ideas, but he did not have any preoccupied self-confidence in his own "imperial words." Although he occupied the position of emperor, Mugong remained extremely modest and openminded, and never pretended to know what he did not know. We must say that it would not have been possible if he had not adopted a realistic approach. What were the capacities of Jiu Fanguo, after all? And could he actually take over from Bo Le? "Mugong received Jiu Fanguo and ordered him to try to acquire the best horse." In judging talent, Mugong laid special emphasis on practical experience, heeding the voice of practice, rather than on what one wore, how one looked, and what one said. This is really another outstanding quality of Mugong. Although Mugong was not happy when Jiu Fanguo mistakenly described the sex and color of the horse that was found, he did not accuse Jiu Fanguo of having committed "the crime of deceiving the emperor" by waving a big knife at Jiu Fanguo or even sentencing him to decapitation, nor did Mugong jump to the conclusion that "this man is incompetent." Rather, Mugong called Bo Le in and took counsel with him. Even to date we are all still very touched and impressed by this approach, in which all were to be confirmed by practice, and all the top positions would go only to those who are of real ability and learning.

A good many talented persons, and especially a team of talent scouts with a pair of judgmental eyes in spotting real talent, are needed to advance our cause of the four modernizations. If we can effectively use the strong points of Jiu Fanguo, Bo Le, and Mugong for reference, lay stress on practice (not that kind of practice intended for a certain period of time or for a certain locality), and somewhat adopt the expert line (of course, including the mass line), then teams of persons with real talent will line up before us at our service, and all the fawners, flatterers and sycophants will find the going tougher and tougher. And what about those incompetent fellows who hold positions merely to make up the number? I guess they will just slink away.

9442

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

LIN HUJIA'S BEIJING 1979 GOVERNMENT WORK REPORT

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO (BEIJING DAILY) in Chinese 16 Dec 79 pp 1-4

[Full text of Lin Hujia's [2651 0039 0502] Beijing government work report delivered to the 3d Session of the 7th Beijing Municipal People's Congress on 7 Dec 79]

[Text] Fellow Delegates:

On behalf of the Beijing Revolutionary Committee, I shall now report on government work to the Municipal People's Congress.

I. Profound Changes in Beijing's Situation in the Past 2 Years

Since the 1st Session of the 7th Beijing Municipal People's Congress, especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and the Municipal Party Committee, we implemented the policy of liberating the mind, starting the machine, seeking the truth from the facts and uniting and looking forward, and vigorously shifted the emphasis of work to the socialist modernization construction. Profound changes occurred in the city of Beijing. Politically, a situation of stability and unity emerged; economically, there were recovery and development; from chaos to order, science, education, culture, public health and physical education gradually got on to the track of healthy development.

In political ideology, after knocking down the "gang of four," the exposure, criticism and investigation movement of the city, due to the defects and errors of the leadership, was not truly launched for a period. After May 1978, under the concern of the Party Central Committee, we successively reorganized the party and government leadership teams of the municipal level and gradually changed the passive and backward situation. In conjunction with the reality on all fronts, the broad cadres and masses exposed and condemned

the counterrevolutionary crimes committed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their black lieutenants in Beijing such as Chi Chin [6688 5028], criticized their counterrevolutionary fallacies and ultraleftwing line which distorted and revised Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and, in many aspects, brought order out of chaos and clarified the right and wrong of the lines. The individuals and incidents involved in the "gang of four's" conspiratorial activities to usurp the party and seize power were basically clarified. Those seriously involved in beating, smashing and looting during the Great Cultural Revolution were investigated and dealt with. The mass exposure, criticism and investigation movement of most of the units of the city were basically concluded. On this foundation, we preliminarily reorganized and reinforced the leadership teams of the various levels.

At the same time, we greatly accelerated our stride in redressing the unjust, false and wrong cases and implementing the policies and rectified the history turned upside down by the "gang of four." Beijing city was one of the areas most severely ravaged by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Out of their ambition to usurp the party and seize power, they and their adviser resorted to conspiracies and plots, condemned the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and Municipal People's Council headed by Comrades Peng Zhen [1756 4176] and Liu Ren [0491 0088], which had made outstanding achievements in leading the people of the city in the socialist revolution and construction, as "counterrevolutionary revisionist cliques," the Urban Works Department of the Party Central Committee North China Bureau, which had led the party's underground work in the North China region and waged a desperate struggle against imperialism and the reactionary Guomindang faction before liberation, as the "black Urban Works Department," and the Municipal Public Security Bureau, which had made tremendous contributions to consolidating the proletarian dictatorship, as "a group of big special agents and renegades," and falsely accused the "Dismissal of Huihui" as an "anti-party" work and Comrade Deng Tuo [6772 7148], Wu Han [0702 2498] and Liao Moshu [1675 3106 3097], authors of "Reading Notes on the Three-Household Village," as an "anti-party clique." These serious unjust cases not only placed the major leading cadres of the city at that time in a hopeless situation, but also implicated a large group of cadres, masses and their family members who encountered ruthless struggles and merciless attacks. Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and the individual who once held the procuratorial and judicial powers of the nation also created large numbers of unjust, false and wrong cases, so that the overwhelming majority of the leading cadres, labor models, intellectuals, patriotic democratic figures, former industrialists and businessmen and returned overseas compatriots all encountered false accusations and attacks to different

degrees, and some of them were even jailed or persecuted to death. They promoted factionalism, provoked large-scale armed struggles, vigorously encouraged beating, smashing and looting, seriously disrupted the social order, damaged ethics and mores and trampled the socialist democracy and legal system. On 5 April 1976, the "gang of four" ruthlessly suppressed the revolutionary mass movement to commemorate Premier Zhou and denounce the "gang of four." All these constituted a shocking calamity to the people of the city. We followed the spirit of seeking the truth from the facts, broke down all kinds of "forbidden areas" and successively solved the problems. With the approval of the Party Central Committee, we redressed the Tiananmen Incident, reevaluated the work of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and Municipal People's Council headed by Peng Zhen and Liu Ren in the 17 years before the Great Cultural Revolution and that of the Urban Works Department of the Party Central Committee North China Bureau, the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau and the various fronts and repudiated all the slanderous and libelous words. After reinvestigation, most of the unjust, false and wrong cases since the Great Cultural Revolution were redressed. The policies on cadres, intellectuals, minorities, religion, overseas Chinese, former industrialists and businessmen, and former Guomindang personnel who had joined us which had been severely disrupted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were implemented or in the process of being implemented. The work on removing the labels on the rightists and those erroneously classified as rightists and on changing the status of landowners and rich peasants were basically completed.

After the series of work mentioned above, the apathetic situation during the "gang of four's" rampage was fundamentally reversed. The socialist democracy was developed, thinking was liberated, and the party's superior tradition and style began to recover. The broad masses were joyous and hopeful, feeling an ease of mind, and an unprecedented vivid and lively new atmosphere appeared, creating a favorable condition for shifting the emphasis of work.

In economic work, we thoroughly implemented the party's economic policies, reorganized the enterprises, made production the center of enterprise activities, improved and reinforced operation and management, carried out some reforms of the management systems and obtained fairly good results.

In industrial production, the 1978 total output value reached 19.16 billion yuan, an increase of 13.9 percent over 1977. The total output value for the 1st 10 months of this year was 8.1 percent higher than that of the same period last year. The annual industrial growth this year is expected to exceed 8 percent. Plans on the output of major products for the 1st 10 months this year were completed

fairly successfully, and the increase in a number of products in short supply was fairly rapid. The quality of close to 100 kinds of products in the city attained or approached the domestic advanced level, with 7 of them winning the gold medal of the state and 7 the silver medal. The city trial manufactured over 1,600 new products and over 10,000 new varieties, showing a large increase over the same period last year. The consumption of raw material and coal, power and oil was somewhat reduced. After introducing the method of withholding a percentage of enterprise profit, the profit turned over to the state rose. Last year, we obtained preliminary results in industrial reorganization. Of those plants which had no source of raw material, which suffered excessive losses or which severely polluted the environment, 24 were closed down or abolished; of those which had an excessive processing capacity or whose products were redundant or not readily marketable, 58 were merged and 57 were reorganized to make other products; the product direction of another 348 plants was re-adjusted according to the principle of coordination among specializations. The railway, communication, and postal and telegraph units all completed the plans above norm. Fairly good achievements were made in geological work.

In agricultural production, the 1978 grain output reached 3.7 billion jin, surpassing the previous record achieved in 1975. Government purchases of fresh fruit, live hogs and fresh eggs and the receipts of commune and brigade enterprises all created records in history. The average income of the commune members received from the collective went up 27 percent compared to that of 1977. The broad cadres and commune members exerted a great effort. However, due to the cold spring and dry fall, summer harvesting and summer planting were delayed, and the growth and maturity of wheat, corn and paddy rice were affected. With the lack of close attention by our leaders on top thereof, the development of the work was uneven, some good and some bad, and the total grain output is expected to be about 200 million jin less than that of 1978, a reduction of around 6 percent. The annual plan on vegetable production was completed. However, the production and supply of off-season vegetables were still not successfully solved. The output of other non-staples continued to rise, with estimated increases of commodity hogs (gross weight) at 6 percent, commodity milk at 9 percent, commodity fresh eggs at 54 percent, poultry at 30 percent, Beijing duck at 34.7 percent and fish at 40 percent. A gain of 18 percent is expected in the total receipts from commune and brigade industries and sideline production, and the average income of commune members will also rise further. Fairly good achievements were made in water conservation and meteorological work. Afforestation was more concrete than previous years.

In capital construction, planned projects of 1.99 billion yuan in investment were completed in 1978, the peak year since the founding of the nation. A total of 3.4 million square meters of building floor space was completed, an increase of 29 percent over 1977. A total of 140 million yuan in municipal construction was completed, a 100 percent increase over the previous year. In the last 10 months this year, the capital construction investment increased 25 percent over the same period last year; housing construction started and completed increased 30.2 and 31.6 percent respectively over the same period last year. Municipal construction also made a fairly big increase over the same period last year. Certain achievements were made in such urban public enterprises as planning, designing, surveying, gas, heating, water supply, public transportation and parks, and in housing management and repair, maintenance of municipal administrative facilities, keeping the city clean and hygienic, environmental protection, and anti-seismic reinforcing. Fairly large increases were made in the output of such building material as bricks, tiles, sand, stone and hardware.

In finance and trade, the total value of commodities purchased in 1978 showed an increase of 17 percent over 1977, and the volume of retail trade increased 9.4 percent. In the last 10 months this year, by vigorously supporting production, actively seeking commodity sources and expanding commodity circulation, the total value of commodities purchased and the volume of retail trade increased 14.5 and 16.9 percent respectively compared with the same period last year. In commerce and service industries, some new networks and stations were created. The quality of service was somewhat raised and the service attitude somewhat improved in some units. Export trade in 1978 increased 23.2 percent over 1977, and this year it is expected to increase 40 percent or more over last year. The 1978 fiscal revenue increased 18 percent over 1977. The 1979 revenue is expected to decrease 14 percent compared to that of last year, resulting from changes in the economic and fiscal systems of the state, the price reduction of some industrial articles, the price increase of some items of raw material taken in, and especially the increased fiscal subsidies after raising the purchase price of agricultural and sideline products before readjusting the marketing price. If these factors are excluded and if calculations are based on items where comparisons can be made, then the 1979 revenue is expected to be 5.6 percent greater than that of last year. In the last 10 months this year, the completion of the fiscal revenue plan was fairly good. Completion of the annual plan is expected.

In science and technology and in culture and education, we criticized Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" cultural tyranny and cultural nihilism and their crimes of wrecking science and culture and education and persecuting the personnel, implemented the policy of 100 flowers

blooming and 100 schools of thought contending, preliminarily created the academic trend of free exploration, developed the effect of experts, and somewhat reinforced and improved the organization and management and the material conditions. We reorganized, restored and created municipal scientific research organs, strengthened scientific research work, launched such activities in universities and plants and made achievements in many realms, some reaching the advanced level at home and abroad. The range of application of new techniques, material and technology ceaselessly expanded and progresses were also made in the popularization of science. On the educational front, we criticized the reactionary "two assessments," reformed the student recruitment system and reorganized and reinforced the leadership teams of the educational units and schools of all levels. The normal order of teaching was basically restored and the quality of education greatly recovered. With the support of all sides, we created a group of university extension schools for day students. New developments were made in culture, publishing, public health, physical education and planned parenthood. Some good literary and artistic works were created, many good plays performed, many good books published, and the preservation of cultural relics reinforced. Incidences of contagious diseases such as measles, infantile paralysis, whooping cough and encephalitis were reduced, the cure rate of many hospitals somewhat rose and the quality of treatment somewhat improved. Mass physical education movement is in the process of recovery, and the athletes of Beijing made fairly good achievements in the Eighth Asian Games and the Fourth National Games.

Though we performed much work and made certain achievements in the past 2 years, due to Lin Biao and the "gang of 4's" disruption of 10 years, plus our defects and errors, the national economy, at present, still faces many serious problems. The major ones are the long maladjustment in the proportional relationship between the "bone" and the "flesh" in urban construction, the housing shortage, the communication congestion, and the severe shortage of municipal public utility and living facilities. Many houses were constructed, but, due to the lack of public utility facilities, they cannot be made available to the users. The situation of the extended, scattered, disorderly and wasteful capital construction front formed through many years has not changed much. City planning and management and the maintenance and repair of houses and public utility facilities are inferior. The internal proportional relationship of industry lacks harmony; coal, oil, power and transportation are in short supply; the development of light and textile industries is slow; the building material industry lags behind; the production, operation and management, and technological levels of many enterprises are low; the quality of products is inferior; the designs and varieties are few in number; consumption and waste are both high; labor productivity is

low. The rural economic policies are not adequately implemented in the suburbs, and the policy of the comprehensive development of agriculture, forestry, livestock, sideline industry and fishery according to the local conditions is not successfully carried out. Supplying the city with abundant and large variety of non-staples awaits further solution, and the levels of scientific farming and operation and management urgently need improvement. The networks and stations of commerce and service industries are inadequate, and many units are inferior in operation and management and in the quality of service. The increase in urban population is too great and too fast, and the task of placing young people awaiting employment is arduous. Many problems exist in the scientific and educational enterprises, which lag far behind the needs of the four modernizations. Tourism and export trade are extremely weak. Many defects exist in the current economic and management systems, seriously restricting the development of the production force. In addition, many problems are found in social security, communication, the cleanliness and hygiene of the city, environmental protection and other items of urban management work. The situation is incommensurate with the position of the nation's capital and unadjusted to the demands of all sides.

In regard to the problems mentioned above, there were the following main reasons on the part of the leaders of the Municipal Revolutionary Committee: We lacked intensity and thoroughness in criticizing the link between Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" ultraleftwing line and reality, and our assessment of the grave harms caused by their poisonous influence was inadequate. At the First Session of the Seventh People's Congress and in a subsequent period, we proposed certain targets and slogans which were incompatible with reality. In launching the discussion on the criterion of truth, we failed, during one period, to grasp tightly the task of bringing order out of chaos in the fundamental ideological lines. The municipal organs are ponderous and overstaffed. The duties of the personnel are not clearly defined, their qualifications are low and their efficiency is not high. Under the situation where numerous neglected tasks await undertaking after 10 years of chaos, we failed to make systematic and careful investigations and studies of the momentous issues related to the overall situation, busying ourselves with the daily chores and failing to extricate ourselves completely from the disorderly and passive situation. Compared with the advanced provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, there is a big gap in some items of our work. Naturally, some of the issues relating to the livelihood of the broad people have been accumulated through many years, and they cannot be solved all at once in view of the limitations of the financial and material capacities of the state at the present time. We must exhaust all means to create the conditions and, on the foundation of production development, solve them gradually. There are also some

issues which could have been solved more successfully and promptly, but as we have not performed the work properly, we have not obtained the expected result. We must develop our achievements, overcome our defects, concretely shift the emphasis of work to the socialist modernization construction, vigorously march on the front line of the "four modernizations," make more contributions to the state and build Beijing into a clean and beautiful city equipped with modern industry, agriculture, science and technology and urban facilities.

II. Concretely Shifting the Emphasis of Work to the Socialist Modernization Construction and Conscientiously Implementing the Policy of Readjusting, Restructuring, Reorganizing and Improving the National Economy

The modernization construction is the greatest politics at present, and performing the economic work successfully is an overwhelming political issue. The consolidation of the state, the stability of society and the improvement of the people's material and cultural life all hinge on the success of the modernization construction and on the rapid development of production. We must devote our entire effort to economic work, and all other items of work must closely center around and serve it. After shifting the emphasis of work, the first battle in the modernization construction is to readjust, restructure, reorganize and improve the national economy and gradually channel it to the track of sustained and proportionate high speed development. At present, we must concentrate on the following 10 items of work:

(1) Conscientiously Readjusting Industry, Fully Unearthing the Potentials of the Existing Enterprises and Raising Industrial Production to a New Level

We must make a fairly great development in industrial production, and it is necessary to import some advanced technology by utilizing foreign investment and undertake some new projects in a planned way. However, we must mainly base ourselves on the existing enterprises, walk the path of unearthing the potentials, innovation and reform, vigorously improve operation and management, apply the advanced science and technology, rely on the masses, depend on our own effort to revitalize, struggle arduously and follow the example of the Capital Iron and Steel Company which achieved the production level of the '70's by innovating on and remodeling the equipment of the '50's.

In industrial readjustment, the light and textile industries must make fairly large developments, and all trades and all fields must support them. We must continue to develop the petrochemical industry, in order to supply more raw material to them. The machine and electronic instruments and meters industries must actively supply

them with technical equipment. They must be given priority in the fuel, power and raw material needed by the. The light and textile industries producing products which are in short supply or unavailable must be given additional manpower, and their production shifts increased. The enterprises producing certain unmarketable products must be refitted to manufacture light and textile products in a planned way. The heavy industrial enterprises must fully utilize their surplus capacity and remnant material to produce some daily need industrial articles. Military industries must, in accordance with the principle of integrating the military and the civilian, peacetime and wartime, produce more civilian goods of similar technology. Funds for industrial technical measures under the city's control must be mainly used for the technical reform and gap filling of light and textile industries and the industries serving them, in order to expand the production capacity. Light and textile industries must be given priority in bank loans. In addition, for the purpose of developing them, we must widely introduce the method of joint ventures and collective ownership enterprises under the principle of guiding the collective by the popular.

In industrial readjustment, we must further solve the disharmony in the internal proportionate relationship of the various branches of industry. The metallurgical industry must expand its material rolling capacity and increase the urgently needed specifications and varieties. The machine industry must vigorously supply equipment to agriculture, light and textile industries and capital construction. Chemical, electronic instruments and meters and automobile industries must conscientiously fill in their internal gaps and make their production abilities comprehensive.

In accordance with the principle of specialization cooperation and comprehensive utilization, we must continue to reorganize the industries, further promote the specialization of products, parts and technological and technical rear, gradually solve the problem of "large yet complete" and "small yet complete" and gradually realize the standardization, systematization and universality of products and parts. Industrial reorganization must be linked with the long-range plans of the various branches of industry in developing production, with foreign trade, raw material processing and technological import, and with solving environmental pollution and noise pollution, improving industrial arrangements and developing commune and brigade enterprises. The emphasis of industrial reorganization must be placed on light and textile, electronic instruments and meters, and machine industries. We must break down the boundaries between branches of industry, between civilian and military industries and between popular and collective industries and organize "streamlined" cooperation for

crucial products. Currently, we must vigorously organize the production of sewing machines, televisions, wristwatches, forklifts, electric motors and elevators and raise the output of certain unavailable and short-supply products as rapidly as possible.

All units of industry must concentrate mainly on improving quality, increasing the specifications and varieties, raising the output of superior and low cost products urgently needed by the masses and upgrading and bringing out new models. They must resolutely change the situation of inferior quality, obsolete design, monotonous specifications and varieties, high cost and lack of competitive ability on the market, aim at the advanced foreign and domestic levels and struggle to improve quality, variety and packaging. They must vigorously promote the experience of general quality management, formulate plans, adopt measures, overcome the crucial difficulties and set a time limit for themselves.

Currently, the supply of coal, petroleum and power throughout the nation is very short. While vigorously increasing the output of coal and power, we must tackle energy conservation as a strategic task. Many phenomena of waste in energy utilization exist in the city, and some of them are extremely shocking. The city is actively responding to the appeal of the Party Central Committee and persevering in energy conservation activities, doing its best to lower the consumption of fuel and power and to complete, and complete above norm, the quotas for saving coal, power and oil set by the state for our city. We must give attention to the crucial large users and enforce strict quota management. Hereafter, we must provide quotas on the coal, power and fuel consumption of enterprises and enforce rationing. Those wasting too much must improve within a set time limit, and some of them must suspend production to rectify the situation. Preferential supply and encouragement will be given those units which are successful in energy conservation. We must vigorously popularize the advanced technology in energy conservation, vigorously promote the comprehensive utilization of energy, raise its utilization efficiency and fully unearth its potentials. We must freely activate the masses, launch activities to save 1 watt of power, 1 jin of coal and 1 drop of oil and seek output increase and speed in conservation.

(2) Firmly Implementing the Party Central Committee's Resolution on Certain Issues in Hastening Agricultural Development and Accelerating Agricultural Modernization

The conditions in the suburban areas of Beijing for developing agricultural production are superior. Fully developing the potentials of agricultural production in the suburbs and accelerating the strides of modernization construction hinge on implementing the various rural

policies. Since the Party Central Committee promulgated the two documents on agriculture, we have made certain progresses in implementing the economic policies in the rural suburbs. Many communes and brigades introduced all kinds of production responsibility systems and improved the method of labor compensation. The issue of respecting the self-determining power of the communes and brigades began to win attention and the implementation of the principle of developing production according to local conditions was more successful than before. Many areas lifted the ban on household sidelines and generally opened market trading, and the rural economy began to revive. Changping county generally introduced the "four-quota one-award" responsibility system linked with output, and this year, in spite of the unfavorable weather conditions, its output was greater than last year. After introducing above-norm award for hothouse vegetable production, the output of Wuluju 3d team of Chaoyang ward greatly rose, and the income of the collective and the individual commune members showed obvious increases. By adopting such methods as building firewood forests and mulberry orchards jointly by the brigades and households, the forestry of Shaoying commune, Huairou county, developed rapidly. Such experiences must be widely introduced, stressing the solution of the egalitarianism of "sharing equally in the large pot rice" and generally establishing the responsibility and quota management systems linked with output. The main obstacle to implementing the rural economic policies at present is that many cadres, primarily some of our leading cadres, have not adequately emancipated their mind, and they are filled with apprehensions. We must rapidly overcome this shortcoming by intensively studying the Party Central Committee's two documents on agriculture and summarizing the positive and negative experiences. In the past, many rural cadres, especially the basic level cadres (including some commune members), were attacked and persecuted for expressing correct ideas on the rural economic policies and resisting ultraleftwing matters. The solution of this issue is still not thorough. We must widely publicize their rehabilitation and clarify the right and wrong and the merits and mistakes. Only thus will the economic policies be successfully implemented.

To realize a great development in the suburban rural economy, we must make a big breakthrough in implementing the policy of simultaneous promotion of agriculture, forestry, livestock, sidelines and fishery. Constituting 62 percent of the total area, Beijing's mountain region is rich in resources and potentials, and mountain region construction has an important significance. In the past, we concentrated on grain and vegetable crops in the 6 million mu of farmland, but did not properly utilize the 7 plus million mu of barren hilly land suitable for afforestation and livestock and the 240,000 plus mu of water surface. We stressed hogs and chicken, but did not give adequate attention to

cattle and sheep. Fresh fruit crops developed relatively rapidly, but the output of nuts, such as walnuts and chestnuts, was much smaller than that at the peak in history. Commercial and firewood forests are also dwindling. Many reservoirs were built, but aquatic products have not gained much. This situation must be promptly changed. We must start from the practical conditions of Beijing's suburbs, launch the masses in democratic discussions and, on the foundation of a general survey of natural agricultural resources, reformulate the agricultural area and development plans. We must bring forth the spirit of arduous struggle and self-revitalization, persevere in rural capital construction and build more high- and steady-yield farms regardless of drought or flood. We must vigorously reinforce mountain region construction, especially the old bases, and help the poor communes and brigades with their production. We must, in accordance with the principles of the Party Central Committee's policies and pinpointing at the existing problems in practical work, provide a number of concrete supplementary measures, hasten the development of livestock, forestry, fishery and all kinds of native products and build more suburban bases which can supply large quantities and varieties of non-staples to the city. We must also vigorously develop auxiliary industries for the purpose of set-forming for the large industries, supply material for urban construction and providing commodities for export.

To realize agricultural modernization, we must develop agricultural science and technology and adopt scientific operational and management methods. At present, we must concentrate on the introduction, cultivation and popularization of improved varieties, vigorously improve the soil, increase organic fertilizer, reinforce the maintenance of existing farm machineries, raise their utilization and good-condition rates and promote the integration of farm machinery and agronomy, especially the mechanization of the "three fall jobs" and "three summer jobs." We must vigorously undertake methane production and study and utilize all kinds of energy. We must create and successfully operate rural cadre and technical schools of all levels, vigorously train agricultural cadres and scientific and technical personnel and vigorously popularize scientific and technical knowledge among the broad commune members. Many units among the suburban communes and brigades and state farms and pastures have no record of cost, no quota for consumption, no system for expenditures and no democracy for financial management. We must vigorously improve the operation and management, seek economic results, gradually establish an entire set of effective methods of operation and management and exert ourselves to attain increase in output, harvest and contributions and reduction in expenditures.

We must rectify the relationship between agriculture and sidelines and ensure the manpower for the front line of agriculture. The compensation for commune members engaged in agriculture and sidelines must be placed under unified planning with due consideration for all concerned and by rational arrangements. Under the premise of giving priority to improving agricultural production, commune and brigade enterprises must make a greater development and fully utilize local resources first, while the urban industries must further farm out their products. The enterprises must conscientiously reorganize themselves, set up a business accounting system, improve the quality of products, lower consumption and increase profit. We must grasp tightly the experimental units of joint agricultural, industrial and commercial enterprises and vigorously explore the ways to bring prosperity to the rural areas more rapidly.

All trades and all fields must feel a concern for agriculture and render support. The industrial front must vigorously produce low cost industrial articles of good quality for agricultural use. The commercial units must actively develop rural commerce and networks and stations of supply and marketing cooperatives and vigorously improve the purchasing and supply work. The financial and banking units must reinforce the management of support-agriculture funds and trust loans. The scientific research and educational units must help the rural villages launch agricultural scientific research and train technical personnel. The cultural units must help them enliven their cultural life. The public health units must help them develop co-operative medical care and raise the health level of the peasants. In short, all fields must contribute to the building of modern socialist new rural villages.

(3) Reinforcing the Management of City Planning and Building, Readjusting the Various Proportional Relationships in Urban Construction, Shortening the Capital Construction Front and Accelerating the Speed of Construction

After smashing the "gang of four," under the concern of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, we have begun to take measures and gradually solved the many problems in Beijing's urban construction accumulated through the years. In the recent 2 years, under the temporary difficulties in the national economy, the state has done its best to increase the investment in municipal public utilities and residential housing construction. The 1.61 million square meters of new residential housing in the 1978 capital construction plan for the city was the highest since 1955. We expect to complete 4.2 plus million square meters of building area this year, including 2.6 plus million square meters of residential housing, an increase of over 60 percent compared to that of last year, and 610,000 square meters of such auxiliary living facilities as elementary and middle

schools and commercial and service networks and stations. These two categories will constitute three-fourths of the building area to be completed this year. However, as the arrears are large and the urban population is still growing rapidly, the difficulties in overcoming the severe shortages of residential housing and service and public utility facilities are great, and the situation cannot be resolved within a short period of time, but requires a relentless long-term effort.

Next year, the state will make a fairly large cut in capital construction investment. For residential housing, besides allocations from the state, the funds must be raised by the city from local financial reserves, by the state operated enterprises from profit withholdings and by the collective economy from public reserve, in order to build more residential houses and auxiliary projects. The construction of public utility facilities must have priority and receive preferential consideration for the funds and material needed. The situation of being unable to deliver completed houses to the users for lack of public utility facilities must not be continued. For this reason, except the tourist hotels and foreign affair projects which have to be built, large public buildings, as a rule, will not be undertaken. Except those specially approved by the Party Central Committee, no large buildings and halls will be built. The industries must firmly follow the principle of "production first and capital construction afterward; unearthing the potentials first and building new constructions afterward." In the capital construction plan of the city, we must make comprehensive balancing and overall arrangements and proceed according to whatever practical and available, so that we will truly concentrate forces to fight battles of annihilation, ensure the crucial projects, raise the work completion rate and develop the results of our investment. Hereafter, we must act in strict accordance with the capital construction procedure. For any new project, we must ensure the availability of investment, material and equipment, plan and design, site clearance and construction strength, the "five fulfill," and must never start haphazardly. We must firmly put an end to the long, scattered, disorderly and wasteful passive situation long existing on Beijing's capital construction front.

To speed up and improve the construction of the capital, we must rapidly change the backward situation of building material production. We must mobilize the various industrial units throughout the city and, by joint effort, strive to create, within 3 years, a relatively complete and modern building material production system adapted to the construction needs. We must firmly overcome the phenomenon of waste, adopt measures of comprehensive utilization and conservation of various substitutes and do the utmost to reduce lumber consumption.

The design units must follow the policy of 100 flowers blooming and 100 schools of thought contending, implement the principle of beauty under practical, economical and feasible conditions, study and apply advanced foreign and domestic design experiences and building technology and vigorously expand the effective utilization area of structures. Meanwhile, they must vigorously launch design standardization and accelerate the speed of construction.

We must overcome the tendency of stressing capital construction and overlooking management, formulate laws and regulations on the foundation of investigation and study and concretely reinforce the management and maintenance of urban housing and public utility facilities. In housing maintenance and repair, we must ensure the safety of the occupants and vigorously improve the living conditions. We must protect historical buildings with a cultural value, strengthen the conservation of urban roads and sewers, raise the good-condition rate and improve the appearance and hygiene of the city. We must raise the environmental protection work to an important position, conscientiously implement the environmental protection laws, exercise strict supervision and management and control and treat the spread of pollution. The environmental protection measures for new constructions must be designed, constructed and put to use simultaneously with the main project. We must launch the organs, schools, enterprise units and neighborhood residents to plant trees and grass and make the capital green.

To build and manage the capital successfully, we must have an overall plan on city building and development as the basis. On the foundation of previous programs and after investigation and study and extensive polling of opinions, the Municipal Planning Bureau drafted the outline of an overall plan on the long-range construction and short-range development of Beijing city and is now in the process of formulating a concrete program. It is hoped that everyone will take an interest and support the work, and create a magnificent blueprint for the urban construction of the capital.

(4) Implementing the Policy to "Develop the Economy and Ensure Supplies" and Properly Handling Finance and Trade Work

Coordinating and linking production and marketing and overcoming shortage or overstocking constitute an urgent issue requiring solution. The commercial units must conscientiously study the needs of the market and the changes in the relationship between demand and supply, help the industrial units increase the output of marketable products and varieties, help the rural communes and brigades develop diversification and household sidelines, promptly supply agricultural

production materials, promptly purchase the agricultural and sideline products and vigorously organize the shipping of industrial articles to the rural areas.

With the development of the economy and the improvement of the people's living standard, we urgently need to further improve commerce and the service industries and socialize more household chores. We must increase the number of commercial and service networks and stations, extend the business hours, improve the service patterns, reinforce technical training, raise the service quality, properly handle merchandise hygiene and reinstate the discontinued service items. The Tianqiao Variety Goods Market vigorously improved its operation, made it convenient for the masses, restored and increased 21 items of service, expanded the varieties of merchandise to more than 180 and extended its business hours to 13 in summer time. Its sales personnel warmly received and voluntarily greeted the customers, handed them the merchandise desired and made suggestions on their purchases, winning their favorable reaction. The finance and trade front must vigorously popularize the experience of the Tianqiao Variety Goods Market.

The opening of rural market trading and the creation of urban agricultural and sideline products market have produced a positive impact on enlivening the urban and rural economy and facilitating the people's living, but certain problems have also emerged. The units concerned must reinforce management and attain the stage of managing without strangling and liveliness without disorder, enlivening the market while not damaging the appearance of the city and hygiene, communication safety and social order.

We must fully develop the promotive and supervisory effect of the financial units on the national economy and the leverage effect of bank trust loans. We must utilize all kinds of trust loans or subsidies to aid the production of articles which produce a fast effect and a large profit in the market at home and abroad. We must closely coordinate the various units and take inventories together, clarify the output and investment and turn the losses to profit. We must take economic measures to encourage the various units in the use and management of their funds and in realizing output and income increases. We must advocate diligence and thrift in all realms, spending less money and doing more work. We must strengthen financial and trust loan supervision, guard against income reduction and expenditure increase, firmly follow the financial and economic systems and wage a firm struggle against corruption and theft, damage and waste and all conduct in violation of financial and economic disciplines. Currently, we must particularly prevent the year-end rush to spend money and pay out bonuses indiscriminately. We must further mobilize

the various departments and units for their common effort to ensure the completion, and completion above norm, of this year's fiscal revenue plans.

Here I wish to discuss the commodity price issue. In recent years, the state, in the realms of production and circulation, adopted the policy of combining planned and market readjusting, giving first place to the former while also developing the effect of the latter and overcoming the erroneous tendency of overlooking the value law of commodity production. Under this policy, the state, on the one hand, raised the purchasing price of 18 major agricultural and sideline products and, in November this year, the selling price of 8 major non-staples, and on the other hand, changed the planned purchase price of those agricultural and sideline products, native and special products and small commodities which should not have been placed under price control to negotiated price, and opened urban and rural market trading. The purchase and market prices of such commodities will only rise and fall according to the demand and supply in the market and readjust themselves automatically. Currently, the price of many such commodities has risen. Hereafter, with the development of production and the enlivening of the market, the price may fall gradually. The foregoing are all momentous measures adopted by the state in readjusting the economy. They have produced a great impact on activating the positivity of the broad peasants and urban handicraft, developing production, expanding commodity sources and enlivening the market. To remedy the effect of the price increase of major non-staples on the staff and workers, the state issued them subsidies and lowered the price of some industrial articles. After propaganda and explanation, the broad masses acquired a fairly clear understanding of the reasons and advantages of the measures. However, as we were behind the changes in our thinking and work, in propaganda and education and in commodity price management, some units raised their prices without authorization or disguised the price increases by scrimping on labor and material, offering seconds as standard and shortchanging on weight. When certain medium and low-grade merchandise needed by the masses was low in stock : unavailable, the customers were forced to buy the high-grade items. Some of the repair service units overcharged the customers. All such problems caused the deep dissatisfaction of the masses. In October this year, the municipal revolutionary committee invited personages in all fields and assigned a large group of cadres to form an inspection group, launched a city-wide mass commodity price inspection and preliminarily rectified the erroneous ways mentioned above. We must continue with the work. We must reinforce the specialized strengths, create a mass supervisory organization and successfully handle the commodity price management together. What is even more important is that we must concretely reinforce ideological education, mobilize the staff and workers of industrial and commercial enterprises and the

rural cadres and commune members, vigorously raise production, improve operation, lower the cost and circulation expenses and supply superior and low cost consumer goods to the masses. Those making outstanding achievements in such work must be widely publicized and those raising prices haphazardly or in disguise must, according to the different conditions, be criticized or severely handled.

(5) Actively Developing Scientific, Educational and Cultural Enterprises, Improving the Scientific and Cultural Levels of the People of the City and Accelerating the Training of Construction Personnel

To realize the four modernizations, science is the key and education the foundation. Scientific and educational enterprises must be given priority. Beijing is an important scientific, educational and cultural base of our country. We must reinforce the leadership in this aspect, conscientiously solve the grave issues created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" ravage and disruption, vigorously develop Beijing's scientific, educational and cultural enterprises and accelerate the training of scientific and technical, operation and management, and all kinds of specialized talents.

In higher education, we must actively aid the various units of the central government to run successfully the higher schools of a national nature in Beijing and make them into educational and scientific research centers adapted to the need of the four modernizations. We must concretely and successfully operate the higher schools and university extensions which are under the municipal jurisdiction, hasten the construction of school buildings, reinforce the teachers and teaching facilities and continuously raise the teaching quality. We must promptly make unified plans and rationally readjust the layout, development scale and specializations of university extensions.

In middle and elementary school education, we must concentrate on further reorganization and improvement and exert ourselves in operating a group of crucial schools. Meanwhile, we must also concretely run the ordinary schools and generally raise the quality of education. We must lay a good foundation for elementary education, with special attention on rural elementary schools, and improve the conditions for running schools. We must actively reform the structure of intermediate education step by step, rationally readjust the scale and layout of ordinary senior middle schools, reduce their numbers, mobilize the strengths of all fields and actively increase the number of technical secondary, mechanical and agricultural middle schools. We must vigorously develop and run nurseries and kindergartens.

The quality of education hinges on the teaching level. We must actively and successfully operate teacher training and advanced

training colleges and schools of all levels, vigorously encourage the teachers to study independently and determine their grade according to their academic levels and teaching achievements.

To raise the scientific and cultural levels of the entire nation, we must vigorously restore and reinforce worker-peasant education. The municipal revolutionary committee has created an office of worker-peasant education in charge of unified planning and the promotion of such work. All trades and all fields must actively establish cultural and technical schools of all levels and actively launch television, radio and correspondence education. We must continue with our work to wipe out illiteracy.

The schools of all levels and all types must fully implement the party's education policy, enable the students to develop actively and voluntarily in the ethical, academic and physical aspects and raise the quality of education while reducing the burden on the students. We must actively launch physical education activities, strengthen the physique of the students and continuously improve their health level.

The young people are the future of our nation. Among the population of our city, 4.05 million are between the ages of 7 and 28, and 2 million of them are enrolled in school. Training and educating the young people and enabling them to undertake the heavy responsibilities of realizing the four modernizations constitute a momentous task linked with the future of the nation. We must realize that such reactionary ideas as anarchism and extreme egoism spread by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have left a deep poison in the young people. We must further mobilize the strengths of all fields, reinforce the political-ideological education of the young people with the four fundamental principles as the central content and guide them to establish revolutionary ideals, to become devoted to the motherland, the party and socialism and to cultivate good moral practice and the habit of observing law and discipline. We must devote a greater effort on the transformation of backward youths. We must encourage the writers to create more literary and artistic works with an educational significance. We must actively create conditions, launch cultural, artistic, scientific and technical, and physical education activities suited to the special characteristics of the young people and gradually add more places of activities, in order to enable the young people to mature soundly.

To hasten the socialist modernization construction, we must vigorously develop scientific research. In scientific research work, we must properly handle the relationship between the long-range and the short-range. We must direct our effort at the scientific and technical problems in the city's industrial and agricultural production and

urban construction which require solution, determine the main direction of attack, arrange the main force and promote the current production construction with the results of our scientific research. Meanwhile, the priority research tasks required in the modernization construction of the capital and the projects affecting the overall situation, such as centers for computer application and testing, should be arranged promptly, in order to prepare the technical foundation for the development and advancement of the various undertakings, train scientific and technical personnel and utilize the results of research.

Currently, some scientific research results have not been promptly popularized and applied. It is a problem urgently requiring attention. The planning and production units must closely coordinate with the scientific research units, properly perform the intermediate and industrial experiments of scientific research and the technological popularization work and convert the results of scientific research into the production force more rapidly. We must gradually consider and formulate economic policies to encourage the production units to adopt new techniques and new technology and develop new products.

Many scientific research organs and institutions of higher learning belonging to the various departments of the central government are located in Beijing. It is an extremely favorable condition for the capital to develop science and technology. We must further reinforce our link with them and actively seek their support and aid in overcoming difficulties together, popularizing scientific and technical results and training scientific and technical personnel. We must continue to reorganize the municipal scientific research organs and build up the crucial research institutions. The various enterprises must also actively launch scientific activities and gradually form a powerful local scientific research force. We must continue to reinforce the logistic work of scientific research and assure its smooth progress.

Adapting to the needs of the modernization construction, the news reporting, broadcasting, television, publishing, culture and art, cultural relics, public health and physical education units must all base themselves on the existing conditions and, in accordance with the financial and material feasibilities, formulate overall plans and make new developments and improvements.

The intellectuals are a backbone strength for realizing the four modernizations. Currently, many problems on their arrangements and employment, political treatment, work conditions, and wage and welfare measures urgently require solution. To hasten the socialist modernization construction, we must, on all fronts, further implement

the party's intellectuals policy. We must feel a concern for them politically, respect their labor and heed their opinions. While fully developing the effect of old experts, teachers and artists, we must give special attention to the cultivation of middle-aged and young intellectuals and discover the talents, assign them to important posts, warmly support their work and enable them to increase and raise their abilities in practice. We must actively improve their working and living conditions and make it possible for them to concentrate on scientific research, teaching and creative activities. We must implement the policy of 100 flowers blooming and 100 schools of thought contending, firmly follow the "three-not policy," enliven thinking, encourage the free airing of views, develop academic democracy and promote the prosperity and development of science, education and culture.

(6) Actively Reforming the Economic and Management Systems Step by Step and Revitalizing Economic Work

There are many defects in our current economic and management systems. The numerous rules and regulations in violation of the objective economic laws seriously block the development of the economy. For the various links, from production, circulation to distribution, the central government has created preliminary methods or given basic instructions for many reforms. We must liberate our mind, seek the truth from the facts and have the courage to practice and innovate. We must gradually change enterprise management by administrative means to that by economic means. The State Council has announced the experimental unit method of expanding the self-determining power of industrial enterprises and given them certain flexibilities in manpower, finance and material and in production, supply and marketing. Recently, the State Council commented on and forwarded the trial regulations on changing the capital construction investment from fiscal allocations to bank loans. Hereafter, this method must also be experimentally introduced in the enterprise circulating funds. All these are momentous measures to reform the economic system and must be actively implemented. In expanding the enterprise self-determining power, our city has selected 110 crucial enterprises possessing fairly good conditions to serve as experimental units. The expansion of enterprise self-determining power will start with withholding a percentage of the profit. Early in July, the municipal revolutionary committee formulated the trial method for the state operated industries in the city to withhold a percentage of the profit, directly linking the percentage with their contributions to the state, dissociating the amount of bonuses from the total amount of wages, and coupling it with the profit. When carrying out this method, many enterprises reinforced the business accounting of the workshops, improved the method of encouragement, computed the bonuses according to

the quality and quantity of the staff and workers' labor, closely integrated economic responsibility, economic results and economic benefits, preliminarily solved the problem of indifference to the quality of work on the part of the enterprises, workshops and individual staff and workers, activated the positivity of the broad cadres and staff and workers and obtained distinct results. The building and finance-trade enterprises and the enterprises under the collective ownership system must conscientiously popularize this experience. Along with material encouragement, we must reinforce political-ideological work and vigorously advocate among the staff and workers the communist spirit of arduous struggle and dedication to the "four modernizations."

In the circulation aspect, many contradictions exist among industry, agriculture and commerce and between wholesale and retail. We must rely mainly on planned readjustment, while giving full attention to developing the effect of market readjustment, change the method of government monopoly in purchasing and marketing for everything and overcome the phenomenon of dislocation of production and marketing. The enterprises must gear themselves to and study the market, arrange production according to its needs, increase the products needed by it and properly perform the work of sales promotion and technical service. We must actively and carefully reform the current purchasing and marketing relationship between industry and commerce and between agriculture and commerce. Hereafter, the purchasing and marketing of Class 1 resources will continue to be handled by state monopoly, and Classes 2 and 3 resources will be purchased under contractual agreements and in a planned way. The production units will be permitted to market the products not purchased by the commercial units. Plants may hold exhibitions and trade fairs, set up special counters in the stores or open retail departments to sell products not included in plans and to trial market new products, thus facilitating direct contact between the producer and the consumer and encouraging the plants to produce low cost and superior goods for the market. The commercial units may refuse to accept unmarketable products of inferior quality and high price, but they may not reject marketable products in sole consideration of cutting down the circulating funds. The wholesale units have been in sole charge of purchasing for the retailers, and it is difficult to adjust to the ever changing market conditions. Hereafter, the retailers must directly order goods from the plants, establishing a link between the plant and the store. After linking up with the stores, the Liuyi Shoe Plant vigorously changed the varieties and styles according to the consumers' needs, and its products, which had been unsalable before, became popular. This experience must be widely popularized. We must suitably add some specialty stores and make the pattern of purchasing and marketing more flexible. We must also trial operate some combined

industrial and commercial enterprises and introduce streamlined management of production, supply and marketing. Whether state plants, handicraft cooperatives, wholesale or retail commerce, hereafter, all must give full attention to the changes in the relationship between supply and demand, shifting from "sitting commerce" to "walking commerce," from "waiting for food" to "looking for food," and expand production and marketing by all kinds of means. After completing the purchase and sale tasks set by the state, the rural supply and marketing cooperatives must actively launch negotiated purchases and sales of Class 3 agricultural and sideline products and of the products of other enterprises operated by commune members, strengthen urban and rural exchange, enliven the market, facilitate the masses, actively participate in market trading, stabilize commodity price by economic means and crack down on speculation and profiteering.

Reforming the resource management system is also an urgent task at present. Currently, the resource management and enterprise units are greatly overstocked. We must firmly change the situation of warehousing at every level, launch activities to take inventories and check the resources, determine the reserve quota and distribute the surplus for use. We must formulate economic methods. When the resource reserve exceeds the quota and excessive circulating funds are tied up, a higher rate of interest must be paid. The resource management units must conscientiously learn Shanghai's experience, improve their service attitude and pattern and introduce such methods as delivery to the door, purchase by mail and telegram, selling by consignment and coordinated service, in order to support production and find the outlets for stagnated resources.

(7) Continuing with Enterprise Reorganization and Vigorously Improving the Operation-Management Level

After more than 2 years of reorganizing, the thousands of enterprises on all fronts in the city have transformed somewhat, and the number of units with severe management troubles has greatly reduced. However, this does not mean that the reorganization task of our enterprises is no longer great. In his government work report, Comrade Hua Guofeng pointed out that the content of enterprise reorganization is mainly to build leadership teams with strong political and business capabilities and to create rational, efficient and civilized production and work orders. Measured by these two standards, most of our enterprises are still far behind. The Capital Iron and Steel Company has provided us with successful experiences in enterprise reorganization. Courageous in assigning cadres according to the needs of the "four modernizations," they appointed a large group of competent men in production, experts in management and experts in production

technology to the No 1, No 2 and No 3 positions in the plants and mines and engineering concerns. They stress the word "strict" in management, inspecting and enforcing repeatedly, reinstating the rules and regulations which were found effective in the past and assigning the responsibilities clearly and stringently from the top to the bottom, so that every person has his special duties and everything is done in an orderly manner. It is the main reason for the Capital Iron and Steel Company to create new records and climb high peaks continuously, to be among the top on the national metallurgical front in the 13 technical-economic norms and to reach the international level in 6 of them. The industry-communication, capital construction and finance-trade units in the city must learn the experiences of the Capital Iron and Steel Company and reorganize successfully. We must build the enterprise leadership into teams which can pursue the "four modernizations." Only with competent leaders will there be competent men. In reorganizing enterprise management, we must follow the example of Daqing, attain "three-honest four-strict" in the personal responsibility system, technical operation procedure, fixed personnel, fixed quotas, firsthand records, business accounting, safety production, labor discipline and calculation, and surveying and experimenting, and firmly rectify the undesirable habit of slackness resulting from Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" disruption of many years.

Currently, the enterprises are unwieldy and overstaffed, and many of their personnel lack specialized knowledge and skill. We must, on the foundation of creating a strict personal responsibility system, transfer out the surplus personnel, to undergo all kinds of specialized training in a planned way or to engage in other production, capital construction and service work.

In the 3-year readjustment period, we must, from beginning to end, place the work of enterprise reorganization in an important position, formulate plans by periods and by batches and produce concrete results. In enterprise reorganization, we must set the standards and render guidance according to the classes of enterprises. Class 1 units include those with a fairly strong leadership team, a fairly good operation and management foundation and fairly advanced norms in all items. They must vigorously learn the experiences of the Qinghe Wool Textile Mill and the Beijing Internal Combustion Engine General Plant in overall quality management and business accounting, and those of the Sixth Construction Company in promoting all-round superior work teams, set their goal at advanced domestic and foreign levels, catching up with and surpassing them, and realize the modernization of production and operation and management. Class 2 units consist of those whose leadership team is not strong enough and whose management work is not sound enough. We must vigorously help them realign their

teams and concretely improve the foundation work of their enterprise management promptly. The first step is to bring all items of the technical-economic norms above the peak in the history of the particular enterprises before marching toward the advanced domestic and foreign levels. Class 3 units are those who have many problems in the leadership teams and whose management work is chaotic. We must help them locate the causes, formulate remedial measures and set a time limit to change the backward situation. When necessary, we must assign the competent cadres from superior levels or advanced units to help them with their reorganization.

(8) Actively Developing the Urban Collective Ownership Economy and Properly Handling the Placing of Young People Awaiting Employment

The urban collective ownership economy is an important component of China's socialist economic construction, and developing it is a long-term strategic task in the socialist historical stage. Collective enterprises require less investment, produce fast results, can accommodate more labor force, are flexible in production and service patterns and possess a powerful vitality and a wide future for development. The view that developing the urban collective ownership economy is only an expediency and a sort of "regression," and that it is one level lower is incorrect. We must extensively propagandize the important significance of the urban collective ownership economy. In politics, we must treat the socialist popular and collective economies as equals, without discrimination; in policy, we must create conditions for developing the urban collective ownership economy and, under the unified planning of the state, solve the issues of production, supply and marketing; the finance and monetary units must render support to the collective enterprises in trust loans and taxation. The wages and welfare benefits of the staff and workers of collective enterprises must be determined according to the quality of operation and, compared with state operated enterprises, they may be lower, the same, or higher. The arbitrary idea that the collective enterprises are lower than the popular enterprises must be broken down, but we must also guard against the erroneous tendency of seeking excessively high wages and large welfare benefits in disregard of the development of the collective economy, and even to the extent of dividing up all the reserve.

Vigorously developing the urban collective economy is also an important means to place the young people awaiting employment. Since March this year, by developing all kinds of collective enterprises, over 120,000 persons were placed, including a group of handicapped youths. The patterns and kinds of employment were many, consisting mainly of the following: (1) unearthing the potentials of the existing neighborhood enterprises and placing the young people awaiting

employment; (2) creating all kinds of service and repair enterprises; (3) organizing labor service cooperatives for contract work with the enterprise units and for all kinds of service and repair jobs; (4) employing the young people by such fragmentary service networks and stations as neighborhood canteens and commission stores and reorganizing such networks and stations into collective enterprises. In addition, all kinds of cultural and technical training classes were held to prepare for employment. Besides solving the practical living problems of the young people and promoting social stability, the measure also created material wealth for society, satisfied the needs of the masses, trained talents for the state and gradually rectified the irrational phenomenon of many things being left untended while large numbers of people remained idle. We must realize that the task of placing the young people awaiting employment remains arduous and that some of the arrangements are not stable enough. We must continue our effort and grasp the work tightly.

The urban collective ownership enterprises must adhere to the direction of serving production, the people's living and export trade and uphold the policy of relying mainly on small-scale dispersed operation, independent accounting, and assuming sole responsibility for profits and losses. Developing the urban collective economy is not only the affair of the wards and neighborhoods, but the various departments and the various trades and industries must undertake the responsibilities. We must reinforce the leadership of this work and promptly create and make sound the management structure of the production service cooperatives of all levels. We must make overall planning and general arrangement, formulate city-wide uniform cooperative regulations and enable it to develop soundly.

(9) Vigorously Developing Foreign Trade and Tourism

Vigorously developing foreign trade and launching foreign economic-technical cooperation constitute a momentous policy to reinforce China's independence, initiative and self-reliance and hasten the four modernizations. By means of export trade, our products will be tested in the international market which, in turn, will inspire us to raise our technical and operation-management levels. It will develop our production, enliven the domestic market and solve the employment problem. It will increase reserve and furnish more construction funds to the state.

In the past 2 years, Beijing's export trade has made a considerable development, but the volume is still small among the national total export. Recently, the Import-Export Management Commission of the State Council held an export work forum of Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai, suitably expanded the local self-determining power in

export trade, and asked the three cities to build themselves, within the near future, into important export bases with a strong competitive capacity in the international market. This task is glorious, yet arduous. We must seize the opportunity, fully develop the favorable conditions of our city and promote export trade. Our export trade must have a clear direction of development and a strategic arrangement. First, we must reinforce our light and textile industries, as they require less investment, create fast results and produce more foreign exchange. Next, we must vigorously promote processed articles produced by labor service, such as garment processing and industrial art processing. Thirdly, we must vigorously develop the petrochemical industry. Fourthly, we must gradually change the structure of export commodities and increase the export ratio of such industries as metallurgy, machine, electronics, optics, and instruments and meters. Fifthly, we must vigorously develop the export of labor service and send personnel abroad to perform capital construction work, open restaurants and operate other enterprises. In short, we must strive to greatly increase, in the near future, our foreign exchange by means of export. The city and the wards, counties and bureaus must handle export trade as an important task. The municipal revolutionary committee has formed the Import-Export Management Committee, placing foreign trade work and other economic activities involving foreign countries under unified guidance. At the same time, it has formed the Beijing Import-Export Corporation, the Beijing Economic Construction Company, the Beijing Investment Trust Company, the Beijing Friendship Service Company and the Great Wall Construction Company to handle economic affairs with foreign countries.

In export trade, we must mainly rely on unearthing the potentials of existing enterprises and designate, in a planned way, a group of plants and workshops to devote themselves exclusively to export products. We must, by means of raw material processing, assembling work, compensation trade, technical cooperation and joint operation of plants, actively import advanced technology and vigorously raise our production and technical levels.

To expand foreign trade, we must improve the relationship between industry and trade. The enterprises and the foreign trade units must follow the principles of "four-joint" (joint handling of affairs, joint arrangement of production, joint negotiations with foreign countries and joint observation groups abroad) and "two-make public" (informing the industrial units of the prices of export commodities and informing the foreign trade units of the industrial production costs), and fully activate the positivity of both sides. The export plan arranged by the Beijing Silk Flower Plant with the foreign trade units early this year was 6.5 million yuan, which showed a 6 percent reduction from last year. The contracts already signed at that time

totaled only 1 plus million yuan. They voluntarily coordinated with the foreign trade units, directly negotiated with the foreign businessmen, designed many new varieties according to their requests and opened the market. Currently, the signed contracts totaled 8.4 million yuan, and the annual export is expected to exceed 8 million yuan. When there is direct contact between production and marketing, business becomes active. This is an experience of success and must be actively popularized. In addition, we must firmly implement the export encouragement price policy and the foreign exchange percentage withholding method and rationally readjust the export duties.

As the capital of our country and with its scenic spots and historical sites, Beijing is popular with foreign tourists. The rate of development of its tourism will directly influence that of the entire country. Currently, there is a severe shortage of tourist facilities in our city, and the supply of lodging, meals, communication, service and tourist merchandise is far below the need. We must actively adopt measures to improve tourism. We must accelerate the remodeling, expansion and construction of hotels, actively train service and technical personnel, vigorously improve the operation and management and raise the service level. Meanwhile, we must try all means to produce more tourist souvenirs and special industrial art commodities novel in design, pleasing in pattern and possessing the special features of Beijing, and vigorously perform the sales promotion work of tourist merchandise.

(10) Strictly Controlling the Size of the City and Population Growth

The population of our city has grown from the 1.76 million at the beginning of liberation to 4.91 plus million. The mechanical growth of the urban population in the past 2 years was extremely rapid. In 1978, after deducting the population transferred out of the city, the number of people transferred into the city showed a net gain of 86,000 plus. There was a net gain of 111,000 plus persons in the first 10 months this year. The tendency of such excessive mechanical growth is still continuing. The natural growth rate is also recovering on a large scale. It dropped to 0.253 percent in 1976, but rose to 0.68 percent in 1978, and may reach 0.85 percent this year. The excessive size of the city and the rapid population growth will inevitably aggravate the shortages of housing, communication and daily necessities and the problems in the education and employment of the young people. Therefore, we must promptly formulate concrete management methods, strictly control the mechanical growth of the urban population and reduce its natural growth. In regard to capital construction projects in the future, all those which do not have to be located in Beijing will not be built here; those which must be located in Beijing must be built in the small towns in the far suburbs, thus

gradually dispersing the excessively dense population in the urban area. In building small cities and towns, such public utility facilities as water, power and roads must be done first, while commerce, the service industries, and the cultural-educational, public health and physical education installations must also be complete, and concrete economic policies formulated to encourage the people to move to the small cities and towns.

We must concretely handle the planned parenthood work. The state has set the target for the national population growth rate at 0.5 percent by 1985. Beijing must reduce it to below 0.5 percent. This is an extremely arduous task. We must first launch the study and propaganda of the Marxist population theory. Enabling the broad cadres and masses to truly understand planned parenthood and reducing the population growth rate constitute a strategic issue faced by us, directly affecting the health and welfare of the entire nation and the realization of the "four modernizations." We must appeal to the married couples to have one child only. The main leading cadres of all levels must personally handle the planned parenthood work and include its implementation as a part of the content of the work inspection and the evaluation and comparison of the various units. We must give special attention to reinforcing the planned parenthood work in the rural areas. We must also concretely handle maternal and child care.

Fellow delegates! To win the first battle of the "four modernizations," we must rely on and activate the masses, intensively and persistently launch an output increase and thrift movement in all the trades and industries centering on high yield, superior quality, large varieties and low consumption, deploy mass socialist labor competitions and rationalization suggestion movements, and strive to complete, and complete above norm, the plans for this year. We must closely link the output increase and thrift movement with readjustment, restructuring, reorganization and improvement, the eight-word policy of the national economy. Since May this year, after activating every level, the output increase and thrift movement throughout the city flourished, and certain achievements were made. In July, the city launched mass activities to inspect, summarize, evaluate and compare the output increase and thrift movement. Some important results of technical innovation were discovered in all fields, many good experiences in operation and management were summarized, and large numbers of advanced groups and staff and workers and superior cadres were selected after evaluation. At the solemn ceremony held by the State Council in September to issue awards to the advanced enterprises and labor models on the industrial, communication and capital construction fronts, 8 units in Beijing were chosen as national advanced enterprises and 14 comrades as national labor models.

we must widely publicize their advanced thinking and deeds, conscientiously popularize their experiences and rapidly turn the advanced level into the general level. At the end of this year and early next year, we must, in conjunction with the work of verifying Daqing-type enterprises and bureaus, launch mass inspections, summations, evaluations and comparisons, and commendations, grasp the typical models, produce results, experiences and talents, raise the output increase and thrift movement to a new height and lay a good foundation for the development of the national economy next year.

III. Reinforcing the Socialist Democracy and Legal System and Consolidating and Developing a Stable and United Political Situation

To shift the emphasis of work in the entire country and accelerate the socialist modernization construction, we must have a stable and united political situation, and reinforcing the socialist democracy and legal system is the guarantee to consolidating and developing such a situation. The important laws passed at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress possess an extremely important significance in reinforcing the socialist democracy and legal system.

Since smashing the "gang of four," especially since implementing the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and with the intensive deployment of the exposure-criticism-investigation movement, our city enforced the various policies of the party, reinvestigated and rectified a large number of unjust, false and wrong cases, reinforced the socialist legal system, reorganized the production, work and social orders, and preliminarily realized a stable and united and active political situation long desired by the people. To further consolidate and develop this excellent situation, we must firmly uphold the four fundamental principles and eliminate the "leftwing" and rightwing interferences. Currently, the "leftwing" interference remains the main obstacle to our "four modernizations;" therefore, we must continue to criticize intensively Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" ultraleftwing line and further purge its remnant poison and influence. Meanwhile, we must give attention to the very small number of people who, in violation of the interest and desires of the broad masses, hoist the banners of "democracy" and "freedom," promote anarchism and extreme egoism, violate laws and discipline and fundamentally negate the four fundamental principles, attempting to disrupt stability and unity by all kinds of means. We must maintain a clear mind, firmly resist, censure and oppose such erroneous tendency along with the broad masses, and defend the hard earned stability and unity. In view of the utilization of the "Xidan Wall" by some individuals who had an ulterior motive to pursue illegal activities, disturb the social order and disrupt the modernization construction, we have already adopted appropriate measures to

solve it. We must make use of all kinds of propaganda tools, adopt vivid and lively patterns, conduct extensive and intensive propaganda education among the broad cadres and masses on democracy and the legal system and enable them to understand that our purpose in developing the socialist democracy and making sound the socialist legal system is to safeguard both democracy and centralization, both freedom and discipline, and both individual ease of mind and the unity of will. We must correctly understand the dialectic relationship between democracy and dictatorship, between democracy and centralization, and between freedom and discipline, clarify the dividing line between ideological emancipation and bourgeois liberalization, correctly exercise our democratic rights and raise our consciousness in observing law and discipline. We must start from the premise of maintaining stability and unity, adhere to the socialist path, the proletarian dictatorship, the leadership of the Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, ensure the realization of the centralized and unified leadership of the party and the state and safeguard the smooth progress of the socialist modernization construction. To further develop democracy and make sound the legal system, we must properly perform the following items of work:

(1) Introducing Reforms of the Local Government and the Election System

The "Organization Law of the Local People's Congresses and People's Governments of All Levels of the People's Republic of China" and the "Election Law of the National People's Congress and Local People's Congresses of All Levels of the People's Republic of China" formulated by the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress are the momentous reforms to develop the socialist democracy and make sound the democratic centralization system. The municipal people's congress must elect the standing committee which engenders itself, and the municipal revolutionary committee must be reorganized into the municipal people's government. The people's congresses of the wards and counties under the jurisdiction of the city must all form their standing committees, and the ward and county revolutionary committees must also be reorganized into the ward and county people's governments. The delegates to the people's congresses of the wards and counties under the jurisdiction of the city will be directly elected by the voters. The number of candidates, as a rule, must be greater than the number of those elected. Such measures will greatly reinforce the people's right to manage the state, enhance the effect of the local people's congresses, strengthen the supervision over the local governments and bring closer the link between the government and the masses. To introduce such momentous reforms, we have designated Dongcheng ward and Huairou county as the experimental units, in order to gain experience for the general introduction of

the new organization and election laws next year. To make sure that the people's delegates can truly perform their duties, we suggest that, after the election of the standing committee of the municipal people's congress, the delegates make investigations and studies, fully discuss the important issues in politics, economy, science and technology, culture, education, public health, civil administration and nationality work, formulate local rules and regulations and supervise the work of the municipal people's government, people's courts and people's procuratorates; that they schedule inspections by the people's delegates and hear the voters' opinions on government work, and the municipal, ward and county people's governments must facilitate such work. The various departments concerned must report on their work to the people's delegates, reveal the conditions truthfully, and conscientiously study and handle the criticisms and suggestions made by the people's delegates; they are absolutely not permitted to resort to blocking and deceiving.

(2) Continuing the Reorganization of the Leadership Teams and the Improvement of the Cadre Style, Creating Personal Responsibility Systems and Raising the Work Efficiency

The government personnel, especially the leadership cadres of all levels, must cherish the power entrusted to them by the people, willingly bear the burdens of office, be brave in shouldering responsibilities and, as the public servants of the people, serve them heart and soul. They must never utilize their authority for private gain, enter through the back door or pursue special privileges. In regard to their living and compensation, we must create and make sound the necessary laws and systems, so that there are rules to be followed, facilitating supervision by the masses. In case of violations, the minor offenders will undergo critical education and the serious ones disciplinary measures. We must oppose the bureaucratic way of those who refuse to take responsibility, are afraid of offending others, shift the responsibilities back and forth, eat three meals a day and do no work, discuss without deciding, and fail to follow decisions. We must also oppose the bureaucratism of those who make arbitrary decisions without investigation and study, listening to and believing only one side of an issue, fail to act according to the objective laws and issue confused orders. The leading cadres of all levels must closely associate with the masses, be concerned over their vital interests, heed their appeals, accept their supervision, share the bitter and the sweet with them, give serious attention to their letters and visits and personally handle the important issues reported by them. The leading organs of all levels, primarily those of the municipal level, must change the situation of overstaffing, confusion, red tape, routinism and inefficiency. We must uphold democratic centralism, concretely reinforce the collective leadership

and strictly follow the system of labor division with individual responsibility. The leading organs and enterprise units of all levels must create a personal responsibility system, so that everyone has special duties and everything is taken care of by someone. We must firmly follow the principle of streamlined administration, so that we will attain "simplification, unity, efficiency, thrift and anti-bureaucraticism, the five goals." Currently, there is excessive power concentration in the municipal revolutionary committee, and the effect of the ward and county governments, as a level of the administration, is not properly developed, and nor is the bureau level performing its functions. This problem must be promptly solved.

The industrial and mining enterprises must reinstate and make sound the system of the staff and workers congress. All important problems must be submitted to it for discussion and decision, and the responsible persons of the enterprises must make scheduled reports to it, hear its opinions and safeguard the rights of the broad staff and workers in enterprise management. We must conscientiously summarize and popularize the experiences of the experimental units in electing cadres and gradually create the conditions for the direct election of the leading personnel of all levels of the rural people's communes and the basic level leading personnel of enterprise units by the masses. It is advisable to integrate the work of electing cadres with the reform of the economic system and to link it directly with the quality of operation and management and the people's material interest. It will make the masses more interested in the selection of leaders and more conscientious in voting. It will benefit the promotion of superior individuals who are selfless, courageous in taking responsibility, expert in business and possessing organizational ability to the leading posts. The units which are currently not qualified to introduce mass election and those which should not do so may experiment with scheduled public opinion polls for mass evaluation of the work of the leading cadres. The leading organs must use such mass evaluations as the important basis for the assessment and appointment of cadres.

(3) Reinforcing the Judicial Front

After smashing the "gang of four," we reorganized and reinforced the public security organs and people's courts of all levels, restructured the people's procuratorates of all levels and made considerable achievements. However, our work still falls far short of fulfilling the requirements of a sound legal system. The organization of the people's courts and people's procuratorates is still unsound and they are still understaffed. We must continue to transfer, from other fronts, a group of cadres with good ideology, correct work style, sound health and certain policy and cultural levels to the judicial

front. We must make a general survey of those who have studied judicial administration and done judicial work, including teachers and research workers, and return all those who are qualified to the profession. Meanwhile, the existing judicial cadres must undergo the necessary training and reorganization.

The entire judicial personnel must restore and develop the superior tradition and work style of judicial work, rely on the masses, take the facts as the basis and the law as the yardstick, stress investigation and study and evidence, guard against readily believing in confessions and strictly forbid extorting confessions by torture. Indiscriminate arrests in violation of the criminal law and criminal procedure must not be permitted. We must truly attain the stage of observing the law, enforcing the law and punishing the violators, and effectively crack down on the enemies and protect the people. We must uphold the principle of the equality of all before the law. The entire public security and judicial personnel must study, familiarize themselves with and correctly apply the laws, wage a struggle against all illegal and criminal activities and concretely protect the people's interest.

The government personnel, especially the leading cadres of all levels, must conscientiously study the laws, take the lead in observing them, respect and protect the people's democratic rights, and serve as models in following law and discipline. We must actively support the independence of the people's procuratorates in exercising their procuratorial power and of the people's courts in exercising their judicial power.

(4) Reinforcing the Socialist Legal System, Checking the Evil Trend Endangering Social Security and Reorganizing the Social Order

In China, the exploiters, as a class, have been eliminated, but there still exist the class struggle, the remnants of the reactionary classes, the surviving supporters of the "gang of four," and enemy and special agent elements; there still exist a small number of counterrevolutionaries and other criminals hostile to and disruptive of our socialist modernization construction. In addition, the domestic class struggle is closely linked with the international class struggle.

After reorganization, the social security of Beijing city has made a considerable improvement. Nevertheless, from August this year on, criminal activities again increased distinctly. In the past month, with the activation of the masses, the concerted effort of all sides and the vigorous reorganization, the situation has gradually improved. Recently, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress

passed a resolution and unequivocally provided that all laws and decrees formulated since the founding of the nation, except those conflicting with the current constitution, laws and decrees, will remain effective. The State Council published the supplementary provisions on reeducation through labor. We must solemnly, cautiously and accurately apply the legal weapon, implement the principle of combining education and punishment, follow the policy of integrating special organs and the broad masses, and mobilize the various units and the broad masses to cooperate with the public security, procuratorial and judicial organs and to further improve social security. The active counterrevolutionaries who intend to overthrow the proletarian dictatorship and the socialist system, create disturbances and endanger the state, the murderers, rapists, robbers, arsonists and other criminals seriously disrupting the social order, especially the leaders of criminal gangs, and the abettors must be punished according to law and severely restrained. In regard to the minor offenders, especially the young people, we must follow the policy of reeducation and rescue and furnish them with the environment and conditions for their reform. The habitual offenders must be handled according to law or subjected to labor reeducation. We must prevent and rectify the erroneous tendency of overcautiousness, failing to arrest those who should be arrested or to render judgment and exercise control where such actions are called for. We must steadily, accurately and relentlessly crack down on the enemies, emphasizing accuracy. We must publicize and encourage the personnel who have made contributions in the struggle against the undesirables. The mass public security committees have made an important impact on maintaining social security, and they must be conscientiously reorganized and reinforced. In regard to the areas and sites where hooliganism often occur, we must organize forces to patrol and reconnoitre them and reinforce their security. The garrison units must actively participate in the effort, pooling the wisdom and energy of everyone and further rectifying the social order of the capital.

To safeguard stability and unity and ensure the smooth progress of the modernization construction, we must raise our vigilance, strengthen our war preparedness and properly handle our militia work. We must further consolidate and reinforce the unity between the military and the government and between the military and the civilian.

IV. Implementing the Party's Lines and Struggling for New Victories in the Modernization Construction of the Capital

Based on the positive and negative experiences of the socialist revolution and construction in the 30 years since the founding of the nation, the Party Central Committee formulated correct political, ideological and organizational lines, and we must firmly implement them.

In his talk on National Day, Comrade Ye Jianying [3509 0494 3391] said: "Our present task is to rally the people of all races, activate all positive elements and, with one heart and one mind, going all out and aiming high, achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building a modern socialist power." It is our party's political line. In short, it is to realize the four modernizations. We must continue to purge the remnant poison and influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" ultraleftwing line, closely keep pace with the situation of the modernization construction, center all our work around it, serve it conscientiously, and firmly subordinate ourselves to its requirements.

The ideological line is the foundation of the political line. Rectifying the ideological line is to start from reality in everything, seek the truth from the facts and link theory with practice. This is the fundamental point of the proletarian world philosophy and the essence of Mao Zedong Thought. The discussion on practice as the only criterion to test the truth in the past year or more is to uphold the dialectic materialist ideological line advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong. It has effectively refuted the modern superstition and bookishness created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," hit the crucial spot of their idealism and metaphysics, broken down their spiritual shackles, greatly promoted ideological emancipation, and made the ideological preparations for shifting the emphasis of work. Right from the beginning, the broad cadres and masses of Beijing paid great attention to this momentous matter linked with the realization of the "four modernizations" and the future of the party and the state, and they studied and discussed it. From September this year on, the city generally held remedial classes on the study and discussion of the criterion of truth, launched an education on the dialectic materialist ideological line, clarified the difference between truly and falsely hoisting the red flag, closely linked it with the reality of the modernization construction, and analyzed and solved the various problems of the particular units. Though we have learned many lessons of experience in the socialist construction, we cannot say that we have mastered its objective laws. We must, in accordance with the viewpoint of practice first consistently advocated by Chairman Mao, penetrate the masses, go into reality, investigate and study, find the measures most beneficial to developing the social production force and raising the people's labor fervor and their material and cultural levels, and concretely solve the problems according to the practical conditions. We must never follow our personal inclinations and act rashly and blindly; we must never brag groundlessly; we must never tell falsehoods, exaggerate or utter empty words. We must respect the objective laws, study them, and act according to them. Realizing the "four modernizations" is a brand-new subject. We must, in all aspects, adhere to the line of relying on the masses and everything for the masses, "from the masses and to the masses,"

"concentrate and persevere," practice and understand, practice again and understand again, ceaselessly summarize the experiences, and hasten the strides of the modernization construction of the capital.

The organizational line is the safeguard for the implementation of the political and ideological lines. In his talk on National Day, Comrade Ye Jianying stressed the three requirements of the leading cadres of all levels today: "Firmly supporting the party's political and ideological lines; selflessness, strict observance of law and discipline, upholding the party essence and eliminating factionalism; a strong feeling for the revolutionary cause and a sense of political responsibility, and the professional competency to perform the work." His statement pointed out the direction for us in our work to implement the organizational line and reinforce the leadership teams of all levels in the new era. At present, the urgent task confronting us is to vigorously cultivate and discover talents, overcome all kinds of resistance, break down conservatism, rectify the phenomenon of seniority, boldly promote the superior adult and young cadres and enable them, under the aid of the old cadres and the supervision of the masses, to gradually shoulder the leadership responsibilities of the various enterprises and become the successors in our cause. On this issue, our old comrades must have a strategic vision and understand the importance of the successor issue. The successful solution of this issue will be a momentous contribution of the old cadres to the party's cause.

On the march toward the magnificent modernization construction, our cadres, especially those at the leadership posts of all trades and fields, must vigorously study and master science and technology and specialized knowledge, for otherwise they will not have the competency to perform their duties. Being satisfied with the status of a layman and intoxicated with political prattling will not run the country, but will only bungle matters. The requirements of the modernization construction call for the gradual change in the structure of our cadre ranks, reducing the general administrative personnel and increasing the specialized cadres in all trades and fields in large numbers. We must, in all kinds of forms, organize the cadres to study, successfully handle the work of releasing them from their posts for training and of rotational on-job training, help them learn Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and study science, technology and management, and turn them into experts in their fields adapted to the demands of the modernization construction and contributing to the "four modernizations."

To turn the party's lines into the conscious actions of the masses, we must vigorously reinforce ideological-political work. Currently, the personnel, content, methods and work style of our ideological-political work are far from the requirements of the modernization

construction, and improvements and reorganization are necessary. We must correctly understand the relationships between politics and economics, politics and business, and politics and technology. We must take the four fundamental principles and the stable and united pursuit of the "four modernizations" as the core of our ideological-political work. At present, we must overcome the tendency to overlook and slacken ideological-political work. In political work, we must skillfully direct our effort at the tendentious issues and initiate positive, intensive and meticulous propaganda education. We must restore and develop the party's superior tradition and firmly purge Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" remnant poison and influence. Everyone must perform ideological-political work, carrying it to economic work, to all items of professional work and to all realms of mass activities, and uniting the mind of everyone to the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the 2d Session of the 5th National People's Congress, so that all will enhance their morale, bestir themselves, be of one heart and one mind, overcome all kinds of difficulties on the road of advance, and ensure the smooth completion of the "four modernization" tasks.

The united front developed a tremendous impact in the various historical periods of our country. In the new era, it has also entered a new stage of historical development. It is a broad alliance of all the socialist laborers and all the patriots and has the dual task of serving the "four modernizations" and uniting the motherland. It remains an important talisman, not to be weakened, but to be strengthened; not to be diminished, but to be expanded. We must continue to implement all the concrete policies connected with it, restore and develop the superior tradition of democratic consultation created by Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, conscientiously carry out the policy of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision," and successfully establish the comradely cooperative relationship between the party and nonparty figures. We must promote the nonparty experts with real ability and learning and the nonparty figures representative in politics to serve as administrative leaders in the municipal, ward and county people's governments, concretely guarantee them of their duties, powers and responsibilities within their sphere of function, and fully develop their sense of responsibility and enthusiasm as the masters of the country. Beijing has a fairly large number of minorities scattered among the urban populace, and the 270,000 minority population includes various nationalities. We must conscientiously implement the party's nationality policy, perform the nationality work and conscientiously carry out the overseas nationals policy. We must further develop and expand the revolutionary and patriotic united front and shift the emphasis of its work to the "four modernizations."

Fellow delegates! Today, the situation of our country is excellent. The situation of Beijing city is also excellent. The tasks confronting us are glorious, yet also extremely arduous. We have a great people and a great party which have undergone all kinds of severe tests, a superior socialist system and the correct lines. Beijing is the capital of our country. The guidance and aid rendered us by the Party Central Committee and the State Council are very concrete and very timely. The potentials of our industrial enterprises are considerable; the material foundation for realizing agricultural modernization is relatively good; our capital construction ranks are relatively strong; we have many research organs and higher schools and relatively large numbers of special talents. The people of Beijing have a glorious revolutionary tradition and many advanced and heroic models on all fronts. We are filled with confidence in realizing the socialist modernization. We must develop the revolutionary spirit of determination to make the country strong, arduous struggle, and self-sacrifice for the public, closely rally under the banners of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, strive for new victories in the modernization construction of the capital.

The foregoing report is submitted to the Congress for its consideration.

6080

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

COUNTRY'S INTERCONTINENTAL MISSILE LAUNCHING DISCUSSED

HK090833 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 9 May 80 p 2

["Political Talk" Column by Shih Chun-yu: "China Is Ready To Test Its Intercontinental Missile"]

[Text] This News Was Made Known Abroad Some Time Ago

According to foreign news agency reports from Canberra, China will carry out a test launching of its intercontinental missile in the South Pacific Ocean.

It has been reported that during his visit to Australia, Li Xiannian disclosed this proposed test launching in his talks with the Australian Prime Minister. China has informed states in the region of the proposed test launching.

Beijing yesterday declined to comment or confirm this report. What it implied is clear.

People are excited that China has its own intercontinental missile.

Over the past 2 years or so, many foreign observers and military commentators have predicted that China was stepping up the development of its intercontinental missile technology and that China would have this long-range vehicle. In particular, U.S. and Japanese strategists regarded this prediction as an indisputable fact.

China Has a Definite Foundation

Judging from China's artificial satellites launched over the past 10 years and the success of its test launching of medium-range missiles, we can see that China's development of intercontinental missile technology is not only completely convincing but is also a logical result.

China has a powerful science and technology team for national defense and first-rate experts in mechanics and rocketry. China has accumulated some considerable technological forces and experience to produce an intercontinental missile. In his recent article published by THE WASHINGTON POST, U.S. columnist Jack Anderson said: China has studied the manufacture of intercontinental missiles for over 10 years and has tested a CSS-X-4 missile with a range of 12,500 kilometers.

Preparations Have Been Carefully Made for a Long Time

Due to the long range of intercontinental missiles, it is very difficult to carry out a test launching of these missiles in China. A temporary testing ground for launching these missiles must be in a remote and uninhabited sea area where there is very little shipping. The vast shallow sea area to the north of Fiji in the South Pacific Ocean is the testing ground China has decided on. Some 2 years ago, foreign news agencies reported that a Chinese science ship had made investigations in this area. It was estimated that the ship was there to prepare for the testing of intercontinental missiles. Foreign news agencies reported that proposed test launching following Li Xiannian's visit to the oceanian region. This was proven that China has done very careful and painstaking preparatory work over a long period of time for this proposed test launching. If China had no certainty of a technological success, it certainly would not act rashly.

New Zealand's Prime Minister Robert Muldoon, in a statement issued yesterday, said his government has been officially notified of the test. This has proven that Li Xiannian's current visit has informed states in the region of China's proposed test launching and has gained their understanding.

The Words of the Prime Minister of New Zealand

Muldoon said: "We understand the circumstances in which China has felt it necessary to increase its military capability, including the development of long-range missile technology." These words show that foreign countries support China's development of its four modernizations and particularly its great efforts to modernize its science, technology and national defense.

To develop their intercontinental missile technology, both the United States and the Soviet Union have located their own testing grounds on international waters. In particular, the Soviet Union has repeatedly located its testing ground in the Pacific Ocean, thus arousing protests lodged by Japan and other countries.

China's development of intercontinental missile technology is essentially different from the hegemonists' development of bigger and more powerful rockets to conquer the world. Beijing's development of modern national defense technology is purely for self-defense. As the world is advancing amidst turbulence and instability, China's modernization of national defense is a factor for stability and peace. Therefore, New Zealand's Prime Minister said: "We understand China's circumstances."

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

SHANGHAI MEETING CALLS FOR PUNISHMENT OF LAW VIOLATORS

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 7 Mar 80 p 1

[News report: "There Has Been A Marked Improvement in Public Security in Shanghai"]

[Text] On the afternoon of 6 March 1980, the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and the Shanghai Municipal People's Government held a grand meeting in the Shanghai Gymnasium to commend and present awards to some advanced units and individuals on the public security and judicial fronts and representatives of various trades and professions for their achievements in improving public security and maintaining social order.

The meeting was attended by Yan Yumin [0917 0147 3046] and Han Zheyi [7281 0772 0001], secretaries of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee; Chen Xin [7115 3085], deputy secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee; and Yang Fuzhen [2799 1381 3791] and Wang Mingshang [3076 2494 4545], standing committee members of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee.

Also present at the meeting were Wang Jian [3769 7003] and Yang Ti [2799 1029], vice mayors of Shanghai Municipality; Li Baoqi [2621 1045 1142], political commissar of the Shanghai Garrison Command; Guan Zizhan [7070 1311 1455], president of the Shanghai Municipal People's Higher Court; Qin Kun [4440 2492], chief procurator of the Shanghai Municipal People's Procuratorate; and others.

A total of over 17,000 persons attended the meeting, including responsible comrades of the departments concerned and the three PLA services stationed in Shanghai; cadres in charge of security affairs on all other fronts; activists devoted to maintaining social order and protecting the people's interests; and the masses of workers and staff members of various units who have played a remarkable role in improving public security and preserving social order.

During the meeting, a warm mood of militant unity permeated the modernistic Shanghai Gymnasium. The meeting was formally opened at 2 p.m. by Vice Mayor Wang Jian. He also read to the meeting the names of 25 advanced

units and 76 advanced individuals to be commended. Among them were Zhu Weizhong (6175 0242 1813), worker of the Shanghai Lixin Shipyard; Shen Shengfa (3088 3932 4099), worker of the Shanghai Electric Appliance and Plastics Plant; Chen Xiaobao (7115 4607 1045), security guard at the Shanghai No. 3 Metal Tools Plant; Xing Taotao (0438 2711 2711), deputy leader of the Heping Park Guard Service Group; and other comrades who have displayed bravery, tenacity, and an indomitable spirit in bringing to justice many cunning and vicious criminals. Others to be commended were police cadres of the preliminary investigation group of the Shanghai Municipal Public Security Bureau, the Wuligao station of the Luwan Public Security Subbureau, the Criminal Detective Group of the Putuo Public Security Subbureau, and other units who are dedicated to public security and judicial work, faithful to their duty, and capable of effectively dealing with criminal cases and who have been praised for exposing many organized crimes and breaking many big and important criminal cases; judicial cadres of the Luwan District People's Court, of the Huangpu District People's Procuratorate, and of other units who have conscientiously studied the law and worked hard to improve their professional skills and who, in handling a case, have based it on the facts and taken the law as the criterion, and have followed the legal procedure and taken correct and prompt measures to deal blows to various criminals guilty of seriously disrupting the social order; comrades of the Caohejing Township Police Station, of the Xieiwenti Public Security Committee on Wuding Street, Jingan District, and of other units who have worked hard to patiently educate and transform young law offenders into good citizens; and comrades of the public security squad of the Huangpu Public Security Subbureau, of the public security unit under the property protection department of Tongji University, and of the Shanghai No. 3 steel mill's property protection unit who have done a good job of strengthening public security work, in close coordination with the masses, and have been successful in maintaining social order and order in which production and work can be organized. After the aforementioned names were announced, the responsible comrades of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and the Shanghai Municipal People's Government presented banners, citations, and cash awards to those advanced units and individuals.

At the meeting, representatives of five advanced units and of advanced individuals delivered speeches recalling their exemplary deeds and experiences in preserving social order and in struggling against criminals. Their speeches gave those present at the meeting a form of profound education and great inspiration.

Then, Comrade Yan Yumin, secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, began to deliver a speech amid warm applause. He pointed out: Since late October 1979, vast numbers of public security and judicial cadres and the broad masses of people have taken an active part in the struggle for the preservation of social order, in response to the calls of the Party Central Committee and the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee. During the past 4 months or more, thanks to the common efforts and hard

struggle of the entire party, public security and judicial organs, and army-men and people throughout Shanghai, nearly 1,000 criminals guilty of seriously disrupting the social order have been arrested and brought to justice; thousands of criminal bands guilty of robbery, rape, theft, and smuggling have been exposed; and many originally unsolved big and important cases have been tracked down and uncovered, thus dealing blows to a number of ringleaders, habitual criminals, and instigators. Furthermore, over 800 law offenders and criminals have given themselves up to the public security organs during this period. In February 1980, the number of criminal cases dropped by 27 percent as compared with October 1979, and serious crimes such as murder, robbery, and rape decreased by 73 percent. In other words, there is a marked improvement in the outlook of public security in Shanghai, the social order as a whole has stabilized, and a phenomenon of stability and unity prevails over the city.

Comrade Yan Yumin said: In order to strengthen and develop political stability and unity and to insure the success of the four modernizations, we must continue to strengthen public security work. He stressed that further efforts must be made to bring a fresh outlook of social order and public security to Shanghai. To this end, we must resolutely respond to the call of the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, make further efforts to implement the guidelines of the National Urban Public Security Conference, and act according to the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee's instruction on strengthening public security work, which calls on the people to firmly grasp this task several times a year and to do a good job in this field. In other words, we must continue to fully mobilize and rely on the masses to vigorously strengthen public security work. As for those who continue to commit crimes of murder, arson, robbery, and rape, as well as the ringleaders and instigators, we must severely punish them and deal them fatal blows. Vigorous efforts must be made to strengthen the education of our youngsters. Effective measures must be taken to educate and reform those youngsters who violated the law under the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." We must continue to manage well and expand the work-study schools, establish and improve the functions of the organizations concerned with the education of young law offenders, and make conscientious efforts to educate and transform them. There are some people who have committed no capital crimes but have frequently violated the law, and who have so far refused to correct their mistakes despite repeated education. If they are allowed to remain with their enterprises, factories, and neighborhoods they will pose a continuous threat to social order. Coercive measures must be taken to round them up and enroll them in the productive labor-oriented educational program in accordance with the related resolution and supplementary regulations. The aim of this program is to transform them into good citizens. We must repeatedly and extensively educate leading cadres at all levels and the broad masses in the socialist legal system so that they will be able to know and abide by the law and will be in a position to oversee its enforcement. Law is an ideological weapon. Once it becomes well known to the people, it will have tremendous stabilizing effect on society.

Comrade Yan Yumin concluded by calling on public security and judicial cadres, cadres in charge of public security work on all fronts, activists on various public security committees, workers who serve as guards, members of public security and civil defense units, and PLA commanders and fighters to conscientiously study the documents of the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. He also called on them to play an exemplary and vanguard role in the struggle to further strengthen public security work and to maintain social order, to create a better environment in which the four modernizations can be accomplished, and to strive for greater victories to welcome the triumphant convocation of the 12th Party Congress.

9574

CNO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

COMMANDER INSPECTS BORDER OUTPOSTS

Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0807 GMT 11 May 80

[Text] Guangzhou, 11 May--Wu Kehua, commander of the Guangzhou PLA units, recently traveled several thousand kilometers to inspect border outposts. En route, he strictly followed the "guiding principles for inner-party political life," carried forward the party's old traditions and resolutely rejected special treatment. Commanders and fighters praised him as having "left behind the party's fine workstyle along the thousand-kilometer-long border defense line."

Before his departure and after his arrival in Nanning, Wu Kehua repeatedly told his entourage and leading cadres of the Guangxi Military District that the "guiding principles" and the following three rules must be followed: 1) no cigarettes, fruit or candies should be provided at receptions; 2) there should be no banquets or alcoholic beverages; 3) they would not stay in guest houses when accommodation was available in barracks.

When leading cadres of some units proposed a banquet on the grounds that this was Wu's first inspection tour after his transference to the Guangzhou PLA units, and also guaranteed that there would not be another banquet, Wu solemnly pointed out that the "guiding principles" adopted by the fifth plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee are the rules and regulations of the whole party, and that the leading cadres must set an example in observing the principles from now on without exception.

When the first meal was served at the headquarters of a certain division, Wu saw that drinking glasses were already on the dining table. He insisted that he would not sit down to eat unless the drinking glasses be taken away and no extra dishes be added.

Because the living conditions of a certain border defense regiment were poor, the visiting leading cadres in the past used to stay in better hotel accommodation. This time, however, Wu Kehua insisted on living in the regiment's plain reception center.

Throughout the over 2,600-kilometers of Wu's inspection tour to the border defense units, he persisted in traveling in the same vehicle as his entourage.

Wherever he went, he tried his best to get in touch with the masses. In inspecting the border outposts, he altogether visited 30 companies and some militia units at the front. He also visited the barracks, kitchens, vegetable plots and pig raising compounds of some squads and platoons on many occasions and chatted with the cooks and livestock tenders. Sometimes he also joined the commanders and fighters to watch traditional educational films shown in auditoriums and playgrounds.

C80: 4003

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

STRENGTHENING OF POLITICAL WORK IN PLA DISCUSSED

HK090741 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 9 May 80 p 6

[Article by Chao Tung: "Why Should Political Work Be Strengthened in the Army?"]

[Text] Recently, a conference on political work in the army was held in Beijing. The chairman and vice chairman of the Central Committee Military Commission and cadres responsible for political work in all military regions and various branches of the PLA attended the meeting. This indicates the great importance the Central Committee attaches to political work in the army.

Recently, there has appeared in society, particularly among young people, a tendency to totally neglect politics and concern themselves only with individual material interests. Decadent music, novels and dances from the West spreading the idea of egoism and indulgence in sensual pleasures has also appeared. Some people have also engaged in extreme democracy and advocated extreme individualism.

Soldiers in the army are young men aged 18 or 19. Confronted with the different currents of thought in society, the army cannot but reflect them.

Should things that are allowed to exist in society be legally allowed to exist in the army? This is a prominent question.

Some newspapers expressed doubts on the correctness of the slogan "foster proletarian ideology and eliminate bourgeois ideology." They pointed out that under the present level of productivity, it is impossible to eliminate bourgeois ideology. Therefore, it is incorrect to demand the elimination of bourgeois ideology. In view of these doubts, should political work still be conducted in the army, and should struggle still be conducted against bourgeois ideology? This is also a problem that has to be urgently resolved.

Moreover, the question of whether party members, particularly leading cadres in the army, can still play the role of vanguard like they did during the war years, whether they can stay in the frontline of battle, take the lead in enduring hardships and refuse to seek privileges is a cardinal issue in political work.

Since its founding, the PLA has always relied on political work to guarantee that the army marches forward courageously and maintains a high level of combat effectiveness.

The PLA is the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the mainstay in protecting our homes and defending our country. The political quality of the army will affect the security and stability of the country. Suppose we let soldiers indulge in decadent music, engage in extreme democratization and do not make proletarian ideology prevail over bourgeois ideology and the mentality of feudal privileges, will this army have fighting power? Will it be able to successfully perform the duty of safeguarding construction under the four modernizations?

There are wars going on in some places in the world. The Soviet Union and Vietnam have stationed troops near our borders, eyeing us covetously. The international situation urgently demands that the Chinese army modernize itself and heighten its combat effectiveness. Political work in the army should be, as Chairman Hua said, "strengthened and not weakened."

The army is an armed force. It is an organization that requires discipline. People die, shed blood and sacrifice themselves in battles. This is the most severe test for a soldier. Nobody will believe that someone who usually does not observe party and army discipline, likes to go in the back door and seek advantages, indulges in decadent music and has serious tendencies of egoism could have the heroism to face death unflinchingly for the people and the motherland's interests during war time. Grasping political and ideological work in the army well in peacetime, heightening the consciousness of soldiers, and party members playing the role of models in giving impetus to various works in the army are obviously very necessary.

With regard to work on ideological questions, the method of persuasion and education must be greatly utilized to gradually expand our ideological front. Disciplinary action should be taken only in an extremely small number of serious cases. Generals Zhang Zhixiu and Qin Jiwei going down to the company level to sing revolutionary songs with young soldiers is a good example of patient guidance.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

CONTEST RESULTS IN IMPROVED MILITIA TRAINING

Tianjian TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Mar 80 p 2

[Article: "Effective Measures To Strengthen Militia Building"]

[Text] The party committee of the Tianjin Electric Cable Plant, by placing militia work in a plant-wide 100-point contest, has led everyone throughout the plant to have a concern for militia building.

Out of nearly 2,000 staff members and workers in the plant, more than 680 are militiamen, making up 8 militia companies and 3 independent platoons. Since this year, the party committee of this plant has placed militia work on the agenda by arranging, checking and summing up militia work along with production tasks. In the contest, a score of 100 points was set up based on the production situation of various departments and shops, with militia work accounting for 5 points. The ratings are based on the following: planned measures for the three implementations drive, proper organization of the militia, cadres in complete readiness and regular militia operations; strong enthusiasm in conducting political-ideological work and large contributions from militia men in bringing into play the leading role of key members in production; and the completion of education and training and taking good care of weapons and equipment. On the basis of these criteria, inspection and evaluation are conducted quarterly, semi-annually and annually, and points would be deducted from militia work that do not come up to standards. The plant-wide 100-point contest stipulates that units which do not score a total of 90 points cannot take part in the contest for advanced units, and would have their bonus reduced or taken away.

With militia work placed in a 100-point contest, its undertaking has been promoted and contradiction with production has been effectively resolved. In the past, when various companies and basic armed militia units ran military training, it was for the most part under the unified arrangement of the plant's people armed forces department which often caused contradiction with production. At present, companies of various shops can arrange militia training in accordance with their own production situation. Moreover, by including militia

work in a 100-point contest, specific standards and system of evaluation have been set up in various work, and the militiamen have strengthened their sense of responsibility and honor, trained rigorously and seriously and more effectively brought into play the leading role of key members in production.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

MILITARY BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION, UNIT CODE DESIGNATORS

[The following PLA military code designators and biographic information on selected military personnel were extracted from Chinese-language newspapers as indicated]

Unit 32430--This unit was identified as belonging to the Fujian Military District. (Shanghai WEN HUI BAO 11 Mar 80 p 3)

Unit 37404--This unit was identified as a naval unit. (Beijing CONGREN RIBAO 20 Feb 80 p 2)

Unit 39527--The 33d fendui of this unit in Chengdu was identified. (Shanghai WEN HUI BAO 23 Feb 80 p 3)

Unit 51040--The Chinese Youth League party branch of the 7th Company of this unit was identified. (Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO 11 Mar 80 p 1)

Unit 52843--This unit was identified as belonging to the Beijing Military Region. (Shanghai WEN HUI BAO 11 Mar 80 p 3)

Unit 52857--This unit was identified along with an antiaircraft regiment of an unidentified unit stationed in Tianjin, an engineering school of an unidentified unit station in Taijin, a PLA transportation technology school and other units as taking part in tree planting activities. (Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO 13 Mar 80 p 1)

Unit 52870--This unit was identified as being stationed in Tianjin. (Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO 12 Feb 80 p 1)

Unit 83239--The Chinese Youth League party branch of a command company of this unit was identified. (Shanghai WEN HUI BAO 29 Jan 80 p 2)

Liu Guoming [0491 0948 2494] was identified as having been promoted to commander of a certain submarine of the PLA navy. (Beijing RENMIN RIBAO 21 Feb 80 p 3)

Wang Mingsong [3769 2494 2646] was identified as party committee deputy secretary and regimental commander of an unidentified unit of the Guangzhou Units. (Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO 16 Apr 80 p 2)

Wu Linhai [0702 2651 3189] was identified as deputy commander of a certain submarine of the PLA navy. (Beijing RENMIN RIBAO 25 Feb 80 p 3)

Xu Hungmeng [1776 3163 3718] was identified as commander of a certain submarine of the PLA navy. (Beijing RENMIN RIBAO 25 Feb 80 p 3)

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BRIEFS

PLA AIR FORCE CYL BRANCHES--On the eve of the "4 May" Youth Day, the PLA Air Force commended 10 advanced CYL branches and conferred the honor title of "pacesetter of advanced CYL branches" on them. The 10 "pacesetters" are selected from among more than 1,200 advanced CYL branches in the air force for their outstanding achievements in undertaking the four modernizations and learning from Lei Feng. The air force called on all its CYL branches to learn from the 10 "pacesetters." [Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 2 May 80]

JIANGXI POLICE MILITARY CONTEST--The Jiangxi People's Armed Police Force recently held a military contest in Fuzhou Municipality to assess the professional skills of its members. Joining the competitions were members of the police forces from various cities and districts who passed their admission tests last year, plus the cadres. Aside from competitions in the different events, there was also a colorful report performance by 8 companies of members of the police forces and 60 cadres. After the competitions, (Yang Jilin), deputy director of the provincial public security bureau, gave out pennants and prizes to winning individuals and groups and encouraged them to train even better by following the spirit of the rules of the Central Committee Military Commission on strengthening education and training. [Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 May 80 HK]

WUHAN PLA SONG RALLY--On 19 April, the military headquarters and political department of the Wuhan PLA units held a song rally to learn the revolutionary song, "Follow the Footsteps of the Communist Party." Yan Zheng, political commissar of the Wuhan PLA units, sang with the other leading members and cadres and fighters. Before the singing began, Yan Zheng called on the participants to learn to sing the 12 revolutionary songs and regard them as an important content of the current political work of the PLA units. [Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Apr 80 HK]

JIANGXI MODEL DOCTOR--On 28 April, the report group on model military surgeon Lu Shicai made two reports to the army men and people at the hall of the Jiangxi Military District. The report group arrived in Nanchang from Fuzhou by train on 27 April. (Lu Mingqing), deputy commander of the Jiangxi Military District, welcomed them at the railway station together with other leading comrades. The four-member report group was led by (Shi Qin), deputy director of the propaganda department of the General Political Department. After the report group's arrival in Nanchang, they were received by Xu Qin, vice provincial governor of the Jiangxi People's Government; Xin Junjie, commander of the Jiangxi Military District; Zhang Lixiong, political commissar, and (Lin Naiping) and (Lu Mingqing), deputy commanders. A total of 2,600 persons listened to the reports. Xu Qin, Xin Junjie and Zhang Lixiong also attended the report meeting. Toward the end of the meeting Xu Qin and (Lu Mingqing) spoke. [Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Apr 80 HK]

FUJIAN PUBLIC SECURITY CONFERENCE--The Fujian conference of public security bureau directors from prefectures and municipalities ended on 10 May. The participants revealed that public order in six municipalities in the province has improved to varying degrees and pointed out that the stress of rectifying public order should be placed on the cities with the close coordination of the countryside. It is also necessary to establish and put on a sound basis the public order protection organizations at the basic level. Jin Zhaodian urged all trades and professions to further mobilize the masses to rectify public order well. The public security organs, procuratorial organs and people's courts must concentrate their forces to track down the major and important cases. [Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1035 GMT 12 May 80 HK]

FUZHOU PUBLIC SECURITY MEETING--Fujian held a report meeting on 8 May to convey the spirit of the national meeting to commend advanced units and workers on the public security front. At the meeting, four units from the province were given the honor of "advanced unit," one person was honored as second class hero and model, five persons were given merit citation class I, six persons were given merit citation Class II and two persons given merit citation Class III. More than 1,300 public security workers attended the meeting which was presided over by (Tang Yong), director of the public security bureau of Quanzhou City. (Wong Aidong), chief of the (Tangxia) national advanced public security unit police substation of Quanzhou City, and (Lin Guden), deputy director of the provincial public security bureau, made reports in the meeting. Provincial director of public security (Bian Ji) also spoke. [Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1035 GMT 10 May 80 HK]

GUANGDONG PUBLIC SECURITY DELEGATES--The Guangdong delegates to the national rally to cite the advanced collectives and individuals on the public security front include six representatives of the advanced collectives and 20 representatives of advanced workers and one invited representative. The delegates left Guangzhou by air on 24 April for Beijing. On 23 April, Wang Ning, Standing Committee member of the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee, vice provincial governor and director of the Guangdong Public Security Office; and other leading comrades of the provincial public security office received the delegates. [Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 24 Apr 80 HK]

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WOMEN'S LETTERS VOICING OPINIONS PUBLISHED

OW140148 Beijing XINHUA in English 0136 GMT 14 May 80

[Text] Beijing, May 14 (XINHUA)--Women workers can now write to the WORKERS' DAILY to voice their grievances or satisfaction.

Today's WORKERS' DAILY in its "Women Workers' Column" in Madame Soong Ching Ling's calligraphy carries three letters from women workers.

Li Nuan of Tianjing Wire Factory expresses her satisfaction at the change made in her factory in allotting housing to workers. In the past houses were allotted by factories where the husband worked. Now all workers irrespective of sex are given equal consideration. One woman worker of this factory who has an only daughter has decided not to have anymore babies. "In the past I thought it was only men that count," she said.

Another letter by women workers of a winery in Jiangsu Province rejoices over their factory's change in taking kids of all its workers into the factory nursery instead of accepting those of its women workers only. "Most of us women workers live in the houses provided by our husbands' factories. But we have to take our children to our factories' nurseries some distance away. And this was very inconvenient in the past."

An accompanying editor's note says some factories set their own regulations, which might seem reasonable in their own way but proved to be quite unreasonable. The note asks other factories to reconsider similar regulations.

Another letter from Nanjing complains of male chauvinism of certain factories that are only willing to recruit male workers from other places without transferring their wives, thus causing husband and wife to live in separate cities.

CSO: 4020

BACKGROUND OF COUNTRY'S POPULATION RESEARCH REVIEWED

Beijing, RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Mar 80 p 5

[Article: "Development of Population Theory in China Over the Past Three Decades"]

[Text] Research in the theory of population since the founding of new China has gone through approximately three developmental stages. The first stage lasted from 1949 to 1957, and was marked by the population control theories of the social science faction. The second stage was from the latter part of the 1950's to the early 1960's, being devoted principally to the new population theories of Mr Hu Yaobang (7438 1377 0443), as well as a kind of "manpower theory" formed out of the process of criticism. The third stage is from the 1960's on. This stage can be further divided into the early and later periods: All of the 1960's were one period, during which research in the theory of population was basically at a standstill; the 1970's, particularly after the "gang of four" was broken up, was another period, and it could be said to be a new historical period in the development of our country's theory of population.

1. The Population Control Theory of the Social Studies Faction

As early as the 1920's and 1930's, Chen Changheng, Chen Da, Xu Shilian, Wu Jingchao and others were advocating control over the increase in population, and this was the start of the population control theory represented by the social studies faction. After the liberation, they carried out a rather large revision of the theory. At the same time, they also proposed a new population control theory with an eye to the population problems that would be faced by new China.

They believed that there had been a considerable change in the PRC's population as compared with that before the liberation. The birth rate had been raised, and the death rate had dropped strikingly, so, of course, the rate of population increase had also risen, and there was still a population problem.

They believed that if no good solution were found for employment and other population problems in new China, we would be unable to meet the requirements of the basic economic laws of socialism and the laws of the planned

proportional development of the national economy. This would be disadvantageous to increasing savings and raising labor productivity and would impede the basic mission of the transition period--the successful transformation from an agricultural to an industrial nation. How could this be solved? Chen Da proposed on the one hand a migration movement to accelerate socialist industrialization, further stabilization of the development of agricultural cooperatives, and the rational use of the labor force, and on the other hand, the encouragement of late marriage to solve the key problem, which is the control of births. Wu Jingzhan proposed that three different methods could be adopted to solve unemployment and other problems of dislocation in the ratio between live labor and materialized labor; the first was to allow the simultaneous existence of two kinds of production of different technical levels in the national economy, some of the people producing on a highly technical foundation and others pursuing production on a rather backward technical foundation; the second method is for the state to invest more in the labor service departments so that more people might find employment; the third method is to take active steps immediately to bring down the birth rate to insure that despite future raw increases, the labor force will be able to carry on production on a highly technical foundation.

The population controlists of the social studies faction not only publicized their theories, but they actively pursued activities to restore and establish the social studies and tried hard to include population studies research in them. The movement to restore the social studies came under criticism in the struggle against rightists, and their population theories were charged with being a "crime" against the socialist system.

In the process of criticizing population control, a tide of criticism against the Malthusian population theory arose, and it gave birth to a kind of population theory directly opposed to population control. First, it one-sidedly asserted that once the revolution had succeeded and the social factors creating the population problem had been eliminated, none of the population problems would exist any longer, because population problems fundamentally do not exist in socialism; second, it one-sidedly understood Marx' criticism of Malthus' population theory as meaning that Marx advocated increasing population, or populism, and Malthus advocated reducing population, or controlism, and used this as the standard to distinguish between the two "breeds of horses"; third, it one-sidedly followed the Soviet population theory without further analysis, calling uninterrupted rapid increases in population the socialist law of population and an expression of the excellence of the socialist system.

2. The New Population Theory of Ma Yinchu

In 1957 Mr Ma Yinchu announced his new population theory. The new population theory, together with Ma Yinchu's speeches, conversation and essays, started from social reproduction and the planned proportional development of the national economy and concentrated on analyzing the various kinds of contradictions that exist between the development of the national economy and a too rapid increase in our population. Principal among these are: 1) the

contradiction with the acceleration of capital accumulation, 2) the contradiction with raising the labor productivity rate, 3) the contradiction with raising the people's standard of living, and 4) the contradiction with the development of science. The method of solving them was to strongly control the numbers of people and improve the quality of the population.

However, under the helping hand of the "theoretical authorities," Ma Yinchu's population theory met with harsh criticism and charges that he "saw only mouths and not hands," with the result that a kind of "manpower theory" appeared. This theory maintained that the faster the population increases, the more labor force there is; the more labor force, the more production, the more accumulation, and the faster the development; so, the larger the population, the better.

3. The New Stage in Development of Population Theory

After criticism of the new population theory, the "manpower theory" occupied a dominant position during the entire 1960's, and basically, nothing else happened to influence population theory. With the arrival of the 1970's, the state again advocated planned parenthood, and population research was again taken seriously. But, due to the interference of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," theoretical research was not allowed to go a step beyond the Lei Pond, and to a very great degree it was unable to cast off the yoke of metaphysics.

The great victory of the breakup of the "gang of four" opened a new page in our country's research in population theory. Especially since development of the discussions of practice as the only criterion for the examination of truth, the "restricted area" has been broken, thinking has been liberated, Ma Yinchu's new population theory has been rehabilitated, and his reputation has been restored; moreover, there has been the suggestion of many new questions that had never been raised, or which people basically did not dare raise, in the past. For example, in the history of man's development, there have not only been population laws that suited the various kinds of production forms, there is also a general law of population development that is appropriate to various social forms; the relative population surplus expounded by Marx is not a capitalist law of population development, but a capitalist law of labor force development; relative population surplus is a direct result of advances in technology and increases in the mechanized aspects of production, so a problem of relative population surplus could also occur under socialism; uninterrupted rapid population increase is not a requirement for the development of socialist production, nor is it a socialist law of population, etc. Besides this, the population theory of Malthus can be denied by one divides into two and, whether or not there are positive elements, it contains two kinds of different ideas; there is also a rather large disagreement in the understanding of the two kinds of production spoken of by Engels. At present, comrades engaged in population research have combined with comrades engaged in natural sciences research and are doing quantitative research on population through the application of cybernetics and systems engineering methods, with gratifying results, filling several voids in our country's population research, and providing a scientific forecast of future population development and a new basis for control of population growth and the formulation of correct population policies.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NEW PEASANT THEMES NEEDED IN LITERATURE

06120932 Beijing XINHUA in English 0725 GMT 12 May 60

["Peasants Should Be More Adequately Covered in Literary Creation, Writers Told"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Beijing, May 12 (XINHUA)--The nation's writers should pay greater attention to the 800 million peasants--this was the consensus of a recent forum sponsored by the national literary gazette WENYI BAO. Writers attending the forum declared that new works of literature with rural life as a theme lagged behind the creation of works on other subjects both in quantity and quality. They also said that stories based on life in the countryside had generally been inferior to the best works of the same category produced in the 17 post-liberation years up to 1949. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" stifled literary creation in the ensuing decade.

The national literary magazine, PEOPLE'S LITERATURE, reported that of the more than 100 short stories the magazine carried last year, only some 20 works were on rural life. On the other hand, murder stories make up a large part of the contributions the magazine receives. The authors of works in the latter category were said to be mainly young amateur writers attempting to achieve "novelty."

A literary clinic at the forum pointed out that military and rural subjects had figured prominently in the whole tradition of revolutionary Chinese literature and that this tradition should be carried forward.

The writers agreed that literature should do full justice to the lives of peasants, who make up the bulk of the Chinese population, and to the marked changes that have taken place in Chinese rural areas in the past three years.

The forum urged writers to write not only about current events, but also about events covering the three decades since liberation, with new perspectives they have acquired, to portray characters advancing with the times and deal with new outlooks among the peasants as well as dealing with backward aspects of rural life.

BRIEFS

ACTRESS REELS TAIWAN COOPERATION--Fuzhou, 10 May--Noted Shanghai film actress Wang Danfeng said here recently that she hoped to appear on the screen together with Taiwan artists. She told this to more than 70 young people of Taiwan origin who live in this city. She had arrived here earlier to take part in May 4th Day celebrations. She said her meeting with the young people reminded her of her old friends, colleagues and audiences on the other side of the straits. She said Chinese and Japanese actors and actresses have made joint screen appearances, and China has also signed contracts with foreign film-makers. "We are looking forward with even greater eagerness to making films with our brothers and sisters in Taiwan," she said. She told the group she had already acted in a number of radio programmes taking Taiwan as their theme and hoped to do more. [Text] [OW110149 Beijing XINHUA in English 0110 GMT 10 May 80 OW]

GENERAL KNOWLEDGE BOOK--Shanghai, May 10--The first volume of a ten-volume general knowledge book entitled "The World's Most" has just been printed here. The book lists outstanding phenomena in a wide range of subjects from art to mathematics, from biology to geography. Examples include the oldest painting, the longest city wall, the fastest fish and the smallest island country. Each entry of 500 to 1,000 words is written by a specialist and is accompanied by a photograph or other illustration. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0230 GMT 10 May 80 OW]

NEW NATURE RESERVES--Beijing, 9 May--China had established 64 nature reserves by the end of last month and plans to establish over 100 more in the next 6 months, an official of the Ministry of Forestry said here today. The official said the new reserves will be based on the findings of the current survey of agricultural and natural resources. The reserves established so far cover 17,000 square kilometers, or 0.17 percent of the country's land mass, the official said. Eventually conservation areas will take up one percent of China's land mass. Nine new reserves were set aside in the first 4 months of this year and 16 were set up in 1978 and 1979, he said. [Beijing XINHUA in English 0245 GMT 9 May 80]

ANHUI STATIONERY EXHIBIT--Hefei, May 10--An exhibition of traditional Chinese stationery--writing brush, ink stick, ink slab and paper--has drawn more than 100,000 visitors, including over 400 foreigners, since its opening on February 16 in Hefei, capital of Anhui Province, east China. Among the treasures on exhibit are a kind of paper made 1,600 years ago and unearthed in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region; the 1,000-year-old Wenfu ink sticks unearthed in 1974 in Qimen County, Anhui Province, reproductions of the Jiju writing brushes brought to Japan by the celebrated Tang Dynasty Buddhist Monk Jian Zhan 1,200 years ago; a 2,000-year-old stone ink slab with three legs and a 1,200-year-old ink slab from Shexian County in Anhui, a famous ink slab producer for centuries. [OW110323 Beijing XINHUA in English 1224 GMT 10 May 80 OW]

ANHUI ELEPHANT FOSSIL--Hefei, 13 May--A well-preserved skeleton of an extinct elephant dating back 300,000 years is now being shown in the Paleontological Hall of the Anhui Provincial Museum. The skeleton, 8 meters long and 4 meters high, is one of two fairly well-preserved extinct elephant skeletons found in Huaiyuan County in the middle reaches of the Huai River in the province at the end of 1972. It is judged to have been a male elephant aged over 60. Some paleontologists estimate that it is one of the subspecies of paleoloxodon, living in the late Pleistocene epoch, naming it the palaeo-pentalophodon of the Huai River. [Beijing XINHUA in English 0720 GMT 13 May 80 OW]

CSO: 4020

END

SELECTIVE LIST OF JPRS SERIAL REPORTS

CHINA SERIAL REPORTS

CHINA REPORT: Agriculture
CHINA REPORT: Economic Affairs
CHINA REPORT: Plant and Installation Data
CHINA REPORT: Political, Sociological and Military Affairs
CHINA REPORT: RED FLAG*
CHINA REPORT: Science and Technology

WORLDWIDE SERIAL REPORTS

WORLDWIDE REPORT: Environmental Quality
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Epidemiology
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Law of the Sea
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Nuclear Development and Proliferation
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Telecommunications Policy, Research and Development

*Cover-to-cover

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

13 JUNE 1980

DD.

